

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

'GREAT DEBATE'

FORD AND CARTER AVOID VITAL ISSUES. PAGE 5.

ABORTION

PHILA. PICKETERS DEFEND ABORTION RIGHTS. PAGE 3.

CAMEJO-REID

SWP TICKET NOW ON BALLOT IN 26 STATES. PAGE 7.

CHILE

U.S. PROTESTS HIT JUNTA'S MURDER OF FOE. PAGE 9.

JOIN THE SWP

NEW MEMBERS TELL WHY THEY DID. PAGE 25.

LABOR NEWS

Auto strike

NEW STRATEGY NEEDED TO WIN AN OLD GOAL. PAGE 7.

Mine workers

RED-BAITING IS AIMED AT UNION GAINS. PAGE 10.

Sadlowski

STEEL CHALLENGER SPEAKS OUT ON ISSUES. PAGE 26.

UPS walkout

COMPANY'S DEMANDS FORCE TEAMSTER STRIKE. PAGE 27.

Teachers

FIGHTING TO SAVE JOBS AND EDUCATION. PAGE 27.

BEHIND KISSINGER'S RHODESIA PLAN

—PAGE 4



Black students in Tanzania protest Kissinger's junket to southern Africa last month.

DEMOCRATS MOVE TO DESTROY TEXAS RAZA UNIDA PARTY

—PAGE 29



Human billboard in bleachers of Chinese stadium symbolizes personality cult around Mao Tsetung. Page 13.

THIS WEEK'S MILITANT

- 3 New goals set in 'Militant' sub campaign
- 4 Kissinger's Rhodesia plan: long way from Black rule
- 5 Ford-Carter debate avoids vital issues
- 6 Reid in whirlwind California tour
- 7 Auto strike: new strategy needed
- 8 FBI says it will continue files on SWP
- 9 Protests hit murder of Chile junta foe
- 24 Chicanos and the capitalist crisis
- 25 Who's joining the SWP?
- 26 Sadlowski speaks out on issues in steel
- 27 Employer offensive prompts strike upturn
- 28 Wiretap bill: 'reform' to legalize spying
- 29 Dems move to destroy Texas Raza Unida
- 30 Walter Lively, Black socialist, dies in Balto.
- 32 Anti-Black violence hits Boston schools
- 2 In Brief
- 10 In Our Opinion Letters
- 23 Capitalism in Crisis By Any Means Necessary
- 11-22 International Socialist Review

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AS WE GO TO PRESS: President Ford has a few remaining hours to act on Congress's vote to deny Medicaid funds for most abortions. This prohibition, the Hyde/Conte Amendment, is attached to an appropriations bill for the Departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare. If Ford takes no action on the bill or signs it, the ban takes effect immediately. If he vetoes the bill, Congress may override it. Or, Congress could, by simple majority vote, pass the anti-abortion provision along with a special bill to continue funding of the departments at 1976 levels beginning October 1.

However, if the measure is enacted, the National Abortion Rights Action League will immediately seek court action to restrain its enforcement, a NARAL spokeswoman told the *Militant*. At a news conference in Washington, D.C., September 28, the group announced that it is also prepared to challenge the constitutionality of the prohibition. Simultaneous with the Washington news conference, similar media briefings were held in ten other cities.

CAMEJO ON ABC-TV: Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers party candidate for president, will appear on the ABC network program "Battle for the White House" Saturday, October 2, between 6:30 and 7:00 p.m., Eastern Daylight Time.

Miners convention disrupted by red-baiting

By Nancy Cole

CINCINNATI, Sept. 29—Under the banner "United We Stand, Divided We Fall," the United Mine Workers of America opened its forty-seventh constitutional convention here September 23. Nearly 2,000 delegates are representing the union's 277,000 members.

The convention is a crucial one for the reform leadership of President Arnold Miller, who is opposed by a right-wing majority on the UMW International Executive Board.

Miller's well-received keynote address stressed the gains of the union since his Miners for Democracy slate ousted W.A. "Tony" Boyle from the presidency in 1972. Miller appealed to the delegates to consider the issues carefully and then to unite behind the majority decisions.

On the second day of the convention, Vice-president Mike Trbovich, who is allied with the pro-Boyle forces, delivered a red-baiting tirade. He charged that "radicals" on the Miller staff were destroying the union.

Trbovich's outburst opened the door for a witch-hunt that quickly spread to the press covering the convention.

A motion to expel a reporter from the *Call*, newspaper of the Maoist October League, was adopted without a word of objection. This reporter and *Militant* correspondent Ed Heisler were "strongly advised" by the UMW staff to leave the convention for our own safety. The same warning was given to reporters from the Communist party's *Daily World*.

Later a reporter from *Miner's Report* was thrown out of the convention by a delegate. UMW staff officially revoked the press credentials of the reporter from the *Bulletin*, newspaper of the Workers League.

As of this writing, *Militant* reporters have returned to the convention. Full coverage of the convention will appear in next week's *Militant*.

An editorial on 'Red-baiting in UMW' appears on page 10.

ARGENTINE ANTI-SEMITISM: A delegation of concerned U.S. citizens has lodged a protest with the Argentine ambassador at the United Nations for his government's toleration of violent anti-Semitism.

Argentine rightists have taken public responsibility for recent bombings and shootings at Jewish synagogues in Buenos Aires and Córdoba as part of their extermination campaign against "the Jewish-Bolshevik plutocracy."

The September 24 delegation was led by Prof. Richard Falk of the Institute of International Affairs at Princeton University, and Peter Weiss, a prominent civil liberties attorney. Others in the delegation included Dore Ashton, professor of art history at Cooper Union and cochairperson of the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, and Bernard Rifkin of Distributive Workers District 65.

TEAMSTER 'DEMOCRACY': President Frank Fitzsimmons of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters has announced that his union is polling its 2.3 million members to find out their preference in the presidential elections. The choice of candidates, however, is limited to Jimmy Carter, Gerald Ford, Eugene McCarthy, and Lester Maddox. There is no place for members to indicate their preference for other candidates such as Peter Camejo of the Socialist Workers

party. Neither is there any provision for Teamster members to indicate their disapproval of all those in Fitzsimmons's multiple-choice menagerie of capitalist politicians.

Fitzsimmons has castigated other unions for endorsing candidates without consulting the membership.

'UNEQUAL OPPORTUNITY EMPLOYERS WELCOME': This sign could be hung alongside of the U.S. Labor Department's refurbished guidelines for federal contractors. In the past, contractors and subcontractors with fifty or more employees and holding contracts valued at \$50,000 were required to have affirmative-action programs for women and minorities. Now the minimum will be upped to employers of 100 workers, holding contracts of \$100,000 or more.

Even under the old, stricter rules the government has exercised its power to revoke contracts with discriminating employers only twelve times since 1965. The new guidelines, says the government, will make the rules easier to comply with. Herbert Hill, labor director for the NAACP, spelled out their real meaning: "If the regulations are adopted, then the federal government will have completely capitulated to the pressure from major business enterprises."

BOYCOTT HURTS GALLO DISTRIBUTORS: United Farm Workers picket lines of up to thirty people every Friday for six weeks have had a big impact in Madison, Wisconsin. Six liquor stores that buy from the General Beverage Sales Company decided to stop stocking Gallo wines. General Beverage is now suing the UFW and their supporters for loss of profits. The company is demanding \$50,000 in damages and a court order limiting the number of picketers to one at a time.

SOLIDARITY WITH SOVIET DISSIDENT: Mustafa Dzhemilev, a Crimean Tatar activist, has recently been transferred to a prison in Khabarovsk in the far eastern region of the Soviet Union. Dzhemilev was sentenced in April 1976 to two-and-a-half years in a strict-regime labor camp. This is the fourth time the Soviet bureaucracy has confined him in prison for his active support for the right of Crimean Tatars to return to their home. The Bolshevik government of Lenin recognized the Crimean Autonomous Socialist Republic in 1921. In 1944 Stalin abolished the republic and deported its population to Central Asia.

The Mustafa Dzhemilev Defense Committee is organizing a picket line at the New York office of the Soviet airline, Aeroflot. The October 18 protest will demand freedom for Dzhemilev and the right of Crimean Tatars to return to the Crimea. For more information contact the committee at Room 414, 853 Broadway, New York, New York 10003.

—Ginny Hildebrand

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Sales brisk on campus

New goals set in 'Militant' sub campaign

By Harvey McArthur

It is just two weeks into the subscription campaign, and already three cities have decided to raise their goals.

"We are finding an excellent response in our door-to-door canvassing," reports Rita Moran from Portland, Oregon. "We are selling double the number of subscriptions that we thought we would. Since we have already sold 136, raise our goal by 100."

Richmond, Virginia, also decided to raise their quota—from 80 to 100 subscriptions.

And the Young Socialist Alliance chapter at Madison, Wisconsin, tells us that their goal will be 100, not 50.

The drive is growing in another way. Joining the drive and accepting goals are Phoenix, Arizona; Albany, New York; Edinboro, Pennsylvania; Boulder, Colorado; and Kent and Columbus, Ohio.

One other new city is Buffalo, New York. Ed Powell, a professor of sociology at the State University of New York there, has taken a weekly bundle

of ten *Militants* and plans to sell at least twenty-five subscriptions. He has already sold fourteen.

"I have been reading a lot of radical papers for years now," he told me, "and I think that the *Militant* is far superior to all the others. It's the one paper that carries a lot of information that I don't get elsewhere."

School is open across the country now, and students are digging into their math and physics and English courses.

But these campuses are also the scene of discussion and activity around the Equal Rights Amendment, South Africa, and the elections.

Ike Nahem is a leader of the Young Socialist Alliance in New York. "So far, we've sold over sixty subscriptions at Hunter College and Baruch College, and we're thinking of raising our goal," he reported.

"A lot of Black and Puerto Rican students were especially interested in the *Militant's* coverage of South Africa. They wanted to subscribe to a paper that would give them news they

couldn't find in the *New York Times*."

Many students will have a chance to buy the *Militant* when a Young Socialist team comes through their campus. Lauren Sugarman is on such a team traveling through Ohio.

"We arrived at Oberlin College just in time for a big rally against the apartheid regime in South Africa," she told me. "We sold thirty-nine subscriptions, and I wish we had more time to spend there."

More than fifty students at the University of Massachusetts have bought subscriptions to the *Militant* this fall. "I find a lot of interest in the success of our suit against the FBI," Mike Ponaman of the UMass Boston YSA reports.

Socialists at the University of Houston have found a receptive audience among the Arab students there. This school has one of the largest concentrations of Arab students in the country, and thirteen bought *Militant* subscriptions at a recent national convention of the Organization of Arab Students there.

In almost every city listed on the scoreboard, YSA and Socialist Workers party members are selling subscriptions on high school and college campuses. If your school is not listed, why not join in and introduce your friends and others to the *Militant*? Just write us, and we will send a packet of posters, subscription forms, and sample copies to get you started.



Socialists sold 'Militant' subscriptions during Mexican Independence Day festivities in East Los Angeles.

Subscription scoreboard

	Goal	Sent in	%			
Buffalo, N.Y.	25	14	56.0	State College, Pa.	30	5 16.7
Louisville	150	58	38.6	Portland, Ore.*	350	57 16.2
Bloomington, Ind.	50	19	38.0	Cleveland	450	72 16.0
Oakland, Calif.	350	130	37.1	Salt Lake City	50	7 14.0
Kent, Ohio	30	11	36.7	Tacoma, Wash.	100	14 14.0
Newark	400	145	36.2	Detroit	800	110 13.8
Baltimore	300	108	36.0	Berkeley	400	53 13.3
Dallas	150	52	34.6	Minneapolis	700	92 13.1
Lexington, Ky.	50	17	34.0	Atlanta	600	78 13.0
St. Paul	175	57	32.6	Indianapolis	100	13 13.0
Kansas City	125	39	31.3	San Diego	400	45 11.3
Richmond, Va.*	100	31	31.0	San Jose	350	39 11.1
Madison, Wis.*	100	30	30.0	Miami	50	5 10.0
Cincinnati	150	44	29.3	Edinboro, Pa.	30	2 6.7
Denver	600	169	28.2	San Francisco	800	44 5.5
San Antonio	175	49	28.0	Chicago	900	33 3.6
Pittsburgh	450	122	27.1	Albany, N.Y.	40	1 2.5
Boston	800	212	26.5	Phoenix	50	1 2.0
St. Louis	425	111	26.1	New Orleans	225	4 1.7
Seattle	475	115	24.2	Ann Arbor, Mich.	50	0 0.0
Washington, D.C., Area	700	169	24.1	Arlington, Tex.	30	0 0.0
Ithaca, N.Y.	100	24	24.0	Columbus, Ohio	25	0 0.0
Philadelphia	650	144	22.2	Knoxville, Tenn.	10	0 0.0
Toledo	150	31	20.7			
New York	2,000	405	20.3	Ohio YS team	400	39 9.8
Boulder, Colo.	20	4	20.0	General		317
Milwaukee	650	119	18.3	Total	20,000	3,789 18.9
Houston	900	156	17.3	Should be		4,000 20.0
Los Angeles	1,000	173	17.3			

*Cities raising goal

800 picket Carter-Ford debate

Phila., SF protests defend abortion rights

By Clare Fraenzl

PHILADELPHIA—Nearly 800 women gathered on the evening of September 23 at Independence Mall for a rally and march to the site of the presidential debate here. The demonstrators voiced deep anger aroused by the attacks on abortion rights from presidential candidates Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter.

Gloria Sachman-Reid, president of the Pennsylvania National Organization for Women (NOW), captured this sentiment when she told the crowd, "Pennsylvania NOW demands that the presidential candidates quit using women's bodies and lives as a political football."

Philadelphia NOW President Nada Chandler told protesters that abortion means the right of women to control their own bodies. Without that fundamental right, she said, women can never be free.

The demonstration was the largest, most united action by Philadelphia women's groups in many years. Initiated by Philadelphia NOW, the action was also sponsored by the Bicentennial Women's Center, Planned Parenthood, Philadelphia Task Force on Women and Religion, Philadelphia Women's Political Caucus, women's health and abortion clinics, and others. NOW chapters in New Jersey and New York also sent participants. The Bicentennial Women's Center opened

its doors as an organizing center for the action.

Ford and Carter's much-publicized meetings with Roman Catholic bishops have angered many women activists. La Vonne Althouse, pastor of the Salem Lutheran Church, said that

one of this country's founding principles was separation of church and state. She demanded equal time with the bishops.

Demonstrators responded with the chant, "Five, four, three, two; the pope can't tell us what to do!"

The rally sent telegrams to Ford and Carter demanding that they meet with feminists and other abortion rights advocates to hear their point of view.

Joann Wolf, a member of Philadelphia NOW and of the Women's Health

Continued on page 30

Congress' anti-abortion vote stirs outrage

"Any woman has the right to a medically administered, legal, safe abortion regardless of her socioeconomic standing," Brenda Eichelberger, executive director of the National Alliance of Black Feminists, told the *Militant*.

But if the anti-abortion rider passed by Congress becomes law, up to 300,000 women each year won't be able to exercise this right. "Third World women will particularly be hurt," said Ana Nieto-Gómez, former professor of Chicano studies at California State University at Northridge. For many of these women, Nieto-Gómez told the *Militant*, "abortion was only possible through Medicaid."

Maceo Dixon, a coordinator of the National Student Coalition Against Racism, agreed with this and pointed out, "The same forces that want to roll back abortion rights want to stop busing. . . . The so-called right-to-life

forces haven't shown an ounce of concern for the right to life of Black students, who face violent opposition to desegregation.

"We who support Black rights will not stand for this," Dixon said.

The National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL) believes the anti-abortion measure is "unconstitutional." Carol Werner, NARAL's legal director, told the *Militant* that NARAL will "fight this in court" if Ford signs the bill or Congress overrides a presidential veto.

Dr. Helen Rodríguez, a leader of the Committee to End Sterilization Abuse in New York, pointed to another effect of the bill. "I think it is definitely a drive to get more women to accept sterilization." She explained that federal funding already puts pressure on poor Black and Puerto Rican women to accept sterilization by "only reimbursing 50 percent of abortion costs versus

90 percent for sterilization."

Rev. Robert E. Jones, associate director of the Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights, called Congress's vote "a real backward step." He added, "I think both candidates [Ford and Carter] are to blame for heating up the issue. They have allowed themselves to be manipulated by the 'right-to-life' lobby and the Catholic bishops."

Reverend Jones told the *Militant* that Ford and Carter refuse to meet with his organization.

"We must answer the threat to women's rights with united actions," stated Nan Bailey, National Chairperson of the Young Socialist Alliance. "Mobilizations are the way to stop the Democratic-controlled Congress and Ford and Carter before their anti-abortion campaign costs the life of a single woman or forces many sisters to bear unwanted children."

Kissinger's plan to keep Rhodesia 'free': still a long way from Black majority rule

By Ernest Harsch
From Intercontinental Press

As late as last March, Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith repeated the white-supremacist regime's longstanding position toward the country's Black majority. "I don't believe in black majority rule ever in Rhodesia," he said, "not in a thousand years."

In a September 24 televised speech, however, Smith changed his tune. "Rhodesia," he said, "agrees to majority rule within two years."

For once telling the truth, he said that such a solution to the escalating domestic strife is not what the Salisbury regime prefers. His speech followed a series of talks in Pretoria September 19 with Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and South African Prime Minister John Vorster. During those talks, Smith said, "It was made abundantly clear to me . . . that as long as the present circumstances in Rhodesia prevailed, we could expect no help or support of any kind from the free world. On the contrary, the pressures on us from the free world would continue to mount."

Imperialists shift strategy

Whatever Smith might ultimately do, his speech is the clearest indicator up to now of the shift in imperialist strategy toward the Zimbabwean (Rhodesian) conflict.

The shift in policy marked a realization by the major imperialist powers that the days of the Smith regime are numbered in face of a Black majority of more than twenty to one over the white settlers. The granting of formal independence to the Portuguese colonies and the failure of the South African intervention in the Angolan civil war inspired the Zimbabwean masses to fresh efforts in their struggle for freedom.

Faced with this potential threat to their interests throughout southern Africa, Washington, Pretoria, London, and the other imperialist governments sought to defuse the Zimbabwean conflict by pressing Smith to make some compromises. At the same time, they enlisted the aid of some of the neighboring Black African regimes to try to curb the guerrilla actions of the Zimbabwean freedom fighters.

Keep Rhodesia 'free'

As outlined in Smith's speech, the goal is to install—after a two-year transitional period—a Black neocolonial regime that is willing and able to protect imperialist interests in the country. Smith pointed out that Kissinger and he shared "a common aim and a common purpose, namely to keep Rhodesia in the free world and to keep it from Communist penetration."

The essentials of the imperialist plan, as summarized by Smith, include the establishment of an "interim government" that is to function until majority rule is implemented. The supreme body within this transitional regime is to be the council of state, which will be composed of an equal number of white and Black representatives and which will be chaired by a white. This body is to write a new constitution and organize elections. The council of state will also appoint a council of ministers, which, according to Smith, will be Black in its majority, with a Black chief minister.

Although the proposal was an important concession to the freedom struggle waged by the country's Black majority, it falls far short of abandonment of white supremacy. In Smith's proposed interim regime, the white settlers would still be dominant. The decisions of the white-chaired council of state must be carried by a two-thirds majority,

giving the white representatives veto power. Since the new constitution is to be written *before* elections are held, these white representatives will also have veto power over its terms.

Although Black nationalists have long coupled their demand for Black majority rule with the slogan "one man, one vote," Smith made no mention of universal franchise. Instead, he defined "majority rule" as being "responsible rule," a term that has been used frequently in the past to justify a qualified franchise for Africans, using high property and education requirements.

Moreover, the entire repressive apparatus is to remain in white hands. Smith specifically stated that whites would head the ministries of defense and law and order.

* Rhodesia is still formally a British colony. The white-settler regime unilaterally declared its "independence" from Britain in 1965, but no government in the world has officially recognized it.

The postponement of independence* under a Black regime for two years is another key aspect of the proposal. Smith and the imperialists hope to gain time to organize an acceptable Black regime that would be willing to guarantee white "minority rights."

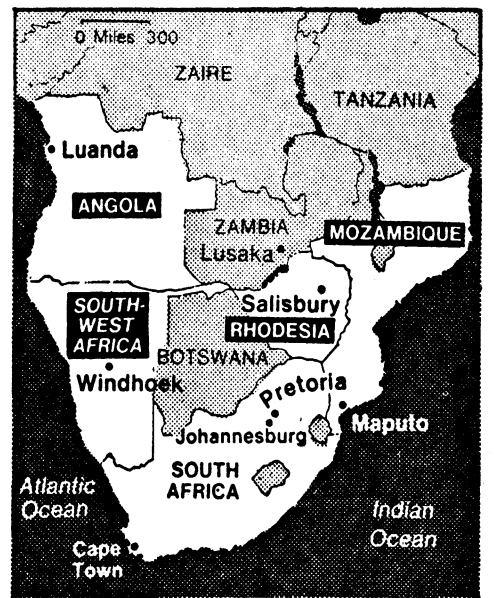
Buying time

Reporting on Kissinger's talks with British Prime Minister James Callaghan in London September 23, *New York Times* correspondent Bernard Gwertzman said:

Mr. Kissinger urged Mr. Callaghan to insure that steps are taken quickly to fill the leadership gap that the Secretary sees developing in Rhodesia if Mr. Smith's Government steps down at a later stage.

In Mr. Kissinger's view it is crucial that a black, moderate, pro-Western leadership be given priority in a new interim government, pending conclusion of a possibly protracted British-sponsored negotiation for a new constitution. . . .

In his talks with President Kenneth D. Kaunda of Zambia and President Julius K. Nyerere of Tanzania, Mr. Kissinger stressed



the need for the black African leaders to come up with a negotiating team on Rhodesia that would be accepted by enough Rhodesian blacks so as to limit the ability of the more radical guerrillas, supplied with Soviet arms, to play a blocking role.

The entire plan, however, hinges on the willingness of at least some of the Black nationalist leaders and groups to go along with it. So far, none of them has accepted Smith's terms.

In a joint statement released September 26, the heads of state of Tanzania, Zambia, Mozambique, Angola, and Botswana also rejected some aspects of Smith's proposal, stating that if it were accepted it would be "tantamount to legalizing the colonialist and racist structures of power."

Anticipating this continued opposition, Smith indicated in his speech that the war against the Zimbabwean guerrillas would not stop. He said that "if we are realistic we must accept that terrorism cannot be halted at the drop of a hat and it will therefore be incumbent on the security forces and all those living in the affected areas to act accordingly."

Smith also hedged on actually carrying out the proposals, stating that acceptance was conditional on the lifting of the United Nations sanctions against the regime and on an end to the guerrilla warfare.

On both these points, Smith said, Kissinger had given his "categorical assurance." Smith then continued, "In the light of previous experience there will be some understandable skepticism regarding the undertaking that terrorism will cease, but on this occasion the assurance is given, not only on the authority of the United States Government, but of the British Government as well."

Clear warning

What secret assurances have Washington and London given the white settler regime? That they will pressure the neighboring African states to clamp down on the guerrillas? That a foreign "peacekeeping force" will be dispatched?

Smith's speech, and the attempt to postpone independence for two years, should be a clear warning to all supporters of the African freedom struggle to be on the alert.

The danger facing the Zimbabwean independence struggle from the imperialist powers was summed up by Tennyson A. Nyagumbo, a leader of the Restaurant and Hotel Workers Union. In a report in the September 23 *New York Times*, correspondent Michael T. Kaufman quoted him as saying, "If a settlement is imposed by the Americans and South Africans, we will not have true independence."

NY, Ohio demos hit U.S. role



September 21 demonstration at opening of UN General Assembly in New York

NEW YORK—A demonstration of 200-300 people, mostly young Blacks, marked the September 21 opening of the General Assembly with a rally at the United Nations building in New York.

Blacks in Solidarity with South African Liberation (BISSAL) had called the protest to condemn U.S. military, financial, and political support to the racist regimes in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and South Africa.

David Sibeko of the Pan African Congress urged ongoing support to the South African freedom struggle "even if [U.S.] Marines should be landed on the shores of Azania [South Africa]."

After the rally, the protesters marched through New York's midtown diamond center where South African gems mined by superexploited Black workers are cut and mounted. When they reached the Hilton Hotel, the demonstrators joined a protest called by the Puerto Rican Socialist party against visiting Puerto Rican Gov. Rafael Hernández

Colón.

Together, the demonstrators chanted: "Africa, Puerto Rico—Same struggle, same fight!" "Uhuru! Ahora!" (Freedom! Now!) and "Imperialism out of Africa and out of Puerto Rico."

—Robert Vernon

OBERLIN, Ohio—Nearly 500 students gathered at a September 15 vigil at Oberlin College to protest apartheid and the daily atrocities against Blacks and Coloureds in South Africa.

The vigil and march that followed were organized by the Black student organization ABUSUA and the Third World and African Heritage dormitories.

Bobby Reed, the director of the Third World dormitory, called for continuing actions that will include the wearing of red armbands, educational and workshops on campus, and an investigation of possible Oberlin College investments or other links to South Africa.

—Lauren Sugarman

Camejo joins Philadelphia protest

Ford-Carter debate avoids vital issues

By Dick Roberts

PHILADELPHIA—There is little question that the first "Great Debate" was unsuccessful for the rulers of this country.

It was supposed to spark interest in the capitalist campaign. The primaries and recent polls show increasing numbers of voters sick and tired of capitalist politics and anything but excited by the Democratic and Republican party candidates Ford and Carter.

"If either [presidential candidate] could use this confrontation as a means of exciting the American voters," the *Christian Science Monitor* said, "and thereby pull the less-than-enthusiastic supporters and millions of undecided citizens behind him—he would be the winner in November."

But Ford and Carter utterly failed to do this.

"Neither one has shown me anything," a worker told a correspondent in a Cleveland bar.

When the sound went off, it was "the best thing that could happen," another Cleveland worker said.

"Both candidates demonstrated a firm grip on their lecterns. . .," was the comment of the editor of Wall Street's weekly financial newspaper, *Barron's*.

The *New York Times* published a lengthy article of corrections of Ford's and Carter's facts.

"By the time of the third debate they'll be begging me to be in it to keep people awake," Peter Camejo said. The Socialist Workers party presidential candidate was speaking at a Denver news conference the day after the debate.

Camejo's criticism of the debate and his outlines of the socialist alternative to capitalist politics were carried in both major Denver newspapers. In fact, the *Rocky Mountain News* has sent a correspondent to the Denver SWP headquarters to listen to the debate and get the socialist view from supporters of Camejo and his running mate, Willie Mae Reid.

The night of the debate Camejo was in Philadelphia to take part in the protest outside the theater where the debate took place. This nationally publicized protest was called by the SWP and the National Organization for Women. Its background all the more underlines the gap between the rulers of this country and the people.

Philadelphia cops

Not since the antiwar movement was an area filled with more policemen, secret servicemen, police cars, and barricaded streets than the area surrounding the site of the debate. To get from Walnut and Eighth streets to Walnut and Ninth, you had to walk ten blocks. In between was the brightly lit Walnut Street Theater where Ford and Carter were soon to appear.

It struck me that the capitalists had been working on this "debate" for almost twenty years. It took that long for the Democrats and Republicans in Congress, the Federal Communications Commission they control, and the networks to break down the legal protection of independent parties to equal air time.

For the last month the networks, the FCC, and the League of Women Voters were rebuffing the attempts by Eugene McCarthy and others to open up the debates to alternative views, although the last word is not in on this.

A historic suit filed by Camejo and Reid is before a U.S. Court of Appeals in New York. The suit challenges the whole antidemocratic process that paved the way for the Ford-Carter debates. The following Tuesday, September 28, arguments for Camejo and Reid would be presented by attorney Eric Lieberman. This important suit—demanding equal air time for the



Protest by SWP, NOW, and other Philadelphia groups received national publicity

socialist candidates—is sponsored by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

Then, in the last week the Democrats, Republicans, and League of Women Voters had got the networks to agree not to televise the audience reaction. The debate was sanitized.

Right to protest

But a final battle had to be fought in Philadelphia itself. If Americans weren't going to get the right to present and to hear alternative views on the air, they should at least have the right to protest the debate and to present their own views outside the Walnut Street Theater.

A coalition came together including the SWP, NOW, Bicentennial Women's Center, the United Peoples Campaign Against Apartheid and Racism, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and the Vietnam Veterans Against the War to hold a protest. They were aided by the American Civil Liberties Union and the National Lawyers Guild.

This protest was opposed by the U.S. Secret Service and the Philadelphia police, backed up by the city's notorious ex-cop Mayor Frank Rizzo.

To get the right to demonstrate, the coalition had to mount an intensive one-week public pressure campaign. Ultimately the Philadelphia police and U.S. government found themselves in court trying to fence off the debate site from public protest. They lost and this was the big story in Philadelphia the day of the debate.

"Debate Pickets OKd," declared the front-page headline in the city's *Daily News*. The front page of the *Bulletin* declared:

"A U.S. district judge recommended . . . that part of the security area around the Walnut Street Theatre be opened to the public during tonight's presidential campaign debate. . . ."

"The recommendation came in response to a suit filed by some 16 groups who wish to picket the Ford-Carter debate. . . ."

"A spokeswoman for the Socialist Workers Party said last night that her

party accepts [the judge's] recommendation. . . ."

"The agreement will be . . . signed," said Clare Fraenzl, Socialist Workers Party Candidate for U.S. Congress in the First District."

The demonstration began at 7:30 p.m. At 7:00 p.m. Camejo appeared on "Black Perspective on the News," a Public Broadcasting Service network program that had been taped in Philadelphia the day before.

In response to four Black reporters, Camejo hit away at issues Ford and Carter would entirely avoid two and a half hours later.

"The Democrats justify excluding other candidates and parties from the debate because they claim to be majority parties," Camejo said. "But the truth is that they represent only a tiny minority of the population, the owners of corporations."

"Ford's and Carter's goal is the same, to protect the profit system," Camejo said. "This is why they cannot allow a true debate, where the opinion of workers would be represented."

Camejo explained that in addition to Democrats and Republicans, the SWP would be on enough ballots in November for him to win the presidency. "And my party fights for what workers need. Isn't it clear," Camejo asked, "why the privately owned networks go to such lengths to prevent our views from being heard?"

I had watched the Camejo broadcast around the corner from the Walnut Street Theater. When I got to the protest, Camejo was already speaking.

"The basic problems, racism, sexism, unemployment, cutbacks in the cities—these will not be addressed by Ford and Carter in their supposed debate."

"If our party was in the debate the needs of working people would be expressed. The Socialist Workers party champions the fight for busing, and the fight for women's rights," Camejo said.

The protesters held signs demanding "End Apartheid Now," "Give Us Jobs," "Defend Abortion Rights."

The demonstrators, a majority

younger women, shouted, "Ratify the ERA!" Millions of women are deeply concerned about this issue. But Ford and Carter didn't say one word about the Equal Rights Amendment during the entire hour and a half.

Debate

The Philadelphia SWP had reserved a nearby tavern as a spot where protesters could watch the debate and talk about it when it was over.

Camejo kicked off the postdebate assessment: "Carter blamed the problems of America on Ford's White House; Ford blamed them on Carter's Democratic party-controlled Congress. Both arguments, as far as they go, are valid."

Camejo explained that the reality behind all of the Democratic-sponsored bills that Ford vetoed and that occupied so much of the Ford-Carter debate "is a question of temporary funding for only 300,000 jobs, when over eight million Americans are unemployed."

"The Democrats and Republicans agree on the overwhelming bulk of the budget. They agree on spending over \$100 billion for weapons. They agree on slashing health, education, and welfare."

"Ford and Carter differed on no major issues. They ignored the problems facing Blacks and women. In their lengthy discussion about unemployment neither of them put forth any concrete plan for getting jobs."

The next morning Willie Mae Reid issued a press release that stated, in part, "If our suit for equal time is successful, we will go on nationwide television and let the American people know there is a party they can join that represents and fights for their interests—the Socialist Workers party."

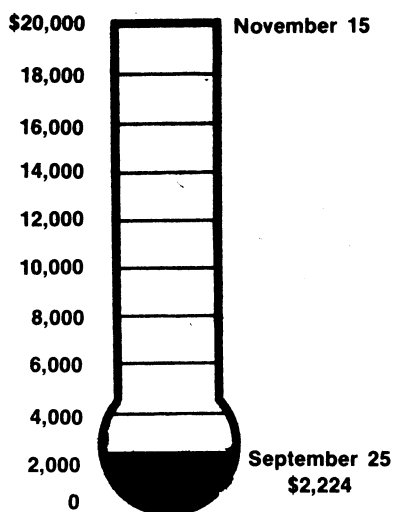
A letter from Tennessee reported the reaction to the debate of a woman interviewed by the NBC affiliate in Nashville. She said:

"I thought the red in Carter's tie highlighted his hair and the blue of the rug highlighted Ford's suit, but I'm going to vote for Camejo of the Socialist Workers party."

\$20,000 Camejo & Reid campaign fund

As Ford and Carter flopped in the first 'Great Debate,' interest picked up across the country in the SWP campaign. A Denver news conference for Peter Camejo resulted in the city's major newspapers, TV, and radio stations carrying Camejo's response to the debate. In California Willie Mae Reid received the same kind of publicity. Her tour has been greeted with enthusiasm and it is gaining new adherents to socialism every day. And meanwhile in New York the historic equal-time suit for Camejo and Reid went before a U.S. court of appeals this week. Much is happening in the socialist campaign! To help finance it the Camejo and Reid Campaign Fund needs \$20,000 by November 15.

How we're doing



Make checks payable to the Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.
☐ Enclosed is my contribution of \$ _____

☐ Please send me more information on the SWP campaign.

Name _____

Street _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Occupation _____

Business address _____

A copy of our report is on file with the Federal Election Commission and is available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C. Chairperson, Linda Jenness; treasurer, Arthur Hughes.

Reid in whirlwind Calif. tour

By Arnold Weissberg

SAN FRANCISCO—It seemed like the phone would never stop ringing in San Diego on Monday. Did every radio station in town want to interview Willie Mae Reid?

The city's newspapers were interested too. The *Union* set up a meeting with the entire editorial board, and a film interview appeared on the evening TV news.

On Tuesday Reid, the Socialist Workers party vice-presidential candidate, campaigned in Los Angeles. More than a hundred students gathered in the Pasadena City College free speech area for a noon rally. Sixty signed up for more information. And five said they wanted to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

That night Reid met with campaign supporters and activists from the San Fernando chapter of the Raza Unida party, including California State Chairperson Andrés Torres. Four more people wanted to join.

"People around the country are waking up to the fact that something's wrong," Reid said. "And what's wrong is that the two political parties in power are not addressing the needs of the majority. They seem to be quite similar. Democrats and Republicans have revealed by their performance that they are two sides of the same coin."

Thursday morning. A quick flight to San Francisco, then across the bay to the Oakland socialist campaign headquarters. Two reporters were already waiting. Two interviews, then to the phone for more radio and newspaper interviews.

A dash back across the bay took Reid to an interview with the San Francisco *Examiner*. The day ended at the Mission District campaign headquarters watching the "Great Debate" with a group of campaign supporters.

"Ford and Carter never said one word about the plight of Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Asians, Native Americans," Reid pointed out. "They said absolutely nothing about the need for a crash federal program to deal with the critical need for jobs, despite the fact that unemployment among Black youth is five or six times the national average."

Friday, 10 a.m. City College of San Francisco. Fifty students have turned out to hear Willie Mae Reid.

"It's their responsibility to enforce the law, the protect a woman's right to choose abortion, but they work overtime to make abortion an issue in this campaign."

San Francisco State University. "And when the Congress cuts off government funds to women who depend on those funds to be able to choose abortion, it's very clear that the Congress doesn't care about poor women, Black women, Chicana women, Puerto Rican women, working women."



Militant/Arnold Weissberg

Reid meets with Andrés Torres, Raza Unida party California chairperson

A hurried lunch. Then a drive to the *Sun-Reporter*, a major Black newspaper.

"The Black community is trying to force the implementation of a twenty-two-year-old law right now—equal education. Ford and Carter stumbled over each other expressing their opposition to that equality, fueling racist sentiment, trying to tell us the backward bigots are just Americans protecting their ethnic purity."

Friday night. The grand opening of a new socialist headquarters in Berkeley. The room is jammed with 135 people. Forty are new to the socialist movement.

"Kissinger tells us he's trying to bring Black majority rule to South Africa. Who does Kissinger think he's fooling? The United States has been in South Africa for decades, for generations. If Kissinger was interested in Black majority rule, he could start in Detroit. There's a Black majority there, but Black interests don't rule—Henry Ford does."

Saturday afternoon at Geneva Towers, a mostly Black housing project in San Francisco. In the recreation room, Willie Mae Reid talks with some parents.

"People need to know there is an alternative to the present economic system. It can be replaced and it should be replaced."

The end of a very busy week at a San Francisco rally of 100 supporters.

Willie Mae Reid blasted the two capitalist parties.

"The system the Democrats and Republicans control is never going to hand over a new way of running things. We as the majority—we will have to organize to do that. The SWP has demonstrated to the American people that we're organized to fight. We want you to come on in to the Socialist Workers party—so we can have socialism. That's what we need, and that's the way we're going to get it."

In a week in California, Willie Mae Reid spoke face to face to hundreds of people. Hundreds of thousands more heard her message on radio and TV. The response showed the substantial impact socialist ideas are beginning to have on the American political scene.

Suit delayed

NEW YORK—In a last-minute decision the SWP suit against the Federal Communications Commission, seeking equal time for Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid with the 'Great Debates,' has been switched from a New York to a Washington, D.C., court of appeals. No date has been set for the Washington hearing, initially scheduled in New York for September 28.

SWP slate wins campus endorsers

By Steve Wattenmaker

Student and campus leaders around the country are signing up as endorsers of the Socialist Workers party presidential campaign. They are responding to a national drive by Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid supporters to place ads in campus newspapers and magazines calling for an SWP vote in November.

Andrew Pollack, assistant editor of the Washington, D.C., American University student newspaper the *Eagle*, is one of the new Camejo-Reid endorsers. Pollack told the *Militant* that the Democrats and Republicans are virtually the same in his opinion. "It's like six of one—half a dozen of the other."

"The Ford-Carter debate was pretty hard to take," Pollack said, "but what

struck me was that the debates are really focusing on personality because they have nothing of any consequence to say about the issues."

Other new Camejo-Reid endorsers include Mark Small, president of the student government at DePauw University in Indiana; Doug Barber, student senator at Allegheny County Community College in Pittsburgh and editor of the campus newspaper; Martín Delgado, a Chicano student leader at San Antonio College in Texas; and Merilee Taylor, a representative of the Associated Students at Metropolitan State College in Denver.

Other endorsers at Metro are Danni Leiderman, who is the chairperson of the Associated Women Students, and John Bermúdez, who heads the Chica-

no Business Students Association.

Buffalo State University sociology professor Ed Powell is circulating an open letter to the campus community outlining his reasons for endorsing the Camejo-Reid campaign and urging others to follow suit. Powell, a well-known and respected defender of human rights in the Buffalo area, was active in the successful fight to free Black political prisoner Martin Sostre.

Endorsements from student government leaders, activists in Black student unions or campus women's organizations, professors, and other members of the campus community are also slated to appear on the national endorsement advertisements to be placed by the Camejo-Reid campaign prior to November 2.

Socialist ticket on 26 ballots

By Matilde Zimmermann

NEW YORK—This week the Socialist Workers party presidential ticket gained ballot status in three additional states. Mississippi and New Hampshire certified SWP petitions. A federal judge ordered Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid added to the Utah ballot.

This brings to twenty-six the number of states (including the District of Columbia) where the SWP will appear on the November ballot.

The SWP has been denied ballot status in Delaware. A suit is under way to seek ballot status in Florida.

A federal judge in Utah ordered state officials to place Camejo and Reid on the ballot in response to a suit by the American Civil Liberties Union on behalf of the SWP, the Communist party, and Eugene McCarthy. The judge's decision found unconstitutional a Utah law prohibiting independent candidates for national office.

Meanwhile in New York, a challenge to SWP petitions has been dismissed. The right-wing National Caucus of Labor Committees (also known as the "U.S. Labor party") alleged that "fraud and forgery" were involved in the SWP petitions without presenting any evidence or specifications. The charges were thrown out by the state board of elections. Certification for the SWP in New York is expected when the ballots are printed October 8.

The state of Washington requires that parties hold a nominating convention in order to appear on the ballot. The SWP met this requirement at a September 21 convention and turned in nominating papers signed by 140 convention delegates.

Attorney Louis Beller filed the Florida lawsuit for Camejo and Reid September 24. In the previous week, in response to a lawsuit by Eugene McCarthy, a federal judge ruled unconstitutional a Florida law prohibiting independent candidates for president.

The SWP had filed almost 4,000 signatures in Delaware, well over the legal requirement of 2,609. But almost half of these were disqualified by the county election commissions, which refused to let representatives of the campaign committee check the disqualified signatures against voter registration lists.

After an appeal to the state attorney general, campaign representative Bill Jewett was allowed access to the voter registration cards for only one hour.

Attorney Gary Aber argued on behalf of the SWP and the Libertarian party that a new Delaware law is unconstitutional as applied to this election. This is because the new law was passed in such a way as to seriously undercut the time for petitioning for independent parties.

In order to build support for its case the Delaware Socialist Workers Campaign Committee circulated a statement among civil libertarians and community activists defending the SWP's right to be on the ballot. Among those who signed were Jean Bowen, state coordinator of the National Organization for Women; Vic Sadot, state coordinator of the People's Bicentennial Commission; Larry Morris, Wilmington NAACP youth coordinator; Ted Keller of the Wilmington United Neighborhoods; and Ralph Morris, editor of the Black newspaper *Delaware Spectator*.

Despite this pressure a federal judge refused to put the SWP on the Delaware ballot.

Auto strike issue

Shorter work time: new strategy needed to achieve an old UAW goal

By Frank Lovell

Early in the strike against Ford Motor Company, the United Auto Workers announced that one of the union's central goals is reduced work time in order to create jobs for laid-off workers.

The implication was that if agreement were reached on this issue, the strike could be quickly settled.

This was spelled out in a letter from UAW President Leonard Woodcock and Vice-president Ken Bannon to all UAW Ford locals:

"The traditional 40-hour weekly work time must be reduced to expand employment opportunities and strengthen the basis of a healthy society," Woodcock and Bannon say.

They argue that corporate management must share responsibility for impending social crises. Some of the worst effects of growing unemployment can be avoided, they say, if the corporations will collaborate with the union in a spread-the-work program, thus relieving the heavy burden of unemployment on government relief agencies.

Statistics are cited to prove that unemployment is a growing problem and that the giant corporations ought to take account of its causes.

UAW economists show, on the basis of U.S. government surveys, that domestic auto production is expected to increase 47 percent by 1990 with an increase in hours worked of less than 5 percent.

Since the total number of workers in the United States will increase an estimated 20 percent in the same period, continuing high unemployment is guaranteed.

Approximately 146 hours of labor per car is required today, but only 103 hours will be needed for the 1990 models—a 30 percent reduction. But the prices of cars in 1990, at the present upward rate, are sure to double today's high prices.

Appeal to management

Although addressed to UAW locals and intended for the information of union members, this letter is written as though it were meant for the corporate heads of industry and high government officials.

"The UAW recognizes," Woodcock and Bannon say, "that a full employment economy cannot be achieved by auto industry negotiations; that is a problem which requires Federal government policies. Nevertheless, our bargaining gains have frequently opened new paths for others to follow; we believe that companies as profitable as Ford Motor have an obligation to use some of that profit—which comes from high productivity of

workers—to help solve workers' problems."

This is no new revelation. It is the basis of labor-management collaboration. It was outlined in greater detail by former UAW President Walter Reuther in a talk he gave at the first annual industrial relations conference of the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department. That was on June 6, 1957, almost twenty years ago.

Reuther believed in labor-management collaboration as a way of resolving social conflict. He sought "to raise collective bargaining above the level of a contest between competing economic pressure groups and find a way to gear collective bargaining decisions to the broad needs of all of the people."

Reuther's argument

His argument then was that new technology was so advanced that "if we achieve a dynamic expanding economy based upon full employment and full production, all of the American people may share in rising living standards, in more and more of the good things of life and at the same time enjoy a fuller measure of leisure and opportunity for greater human growth."

Reuther thought he knew what the problem was: "Too many corporations have not truly accepted collective bargaining. Management too often merely tolerates it. It has not accepted the fact that collective bargaining is an extension of the democratic processes into the economic life of a free society."

So he undertook to persuade the corporations to change their outlook, to adopt a more reasonable view of the changing world.

He cited General Motors as an example of the conscienceless corporation. In 1955 GM made more than \$2.5 billion in profits before taxes, the highest ever recorded—until then. Profits have soared much higher in recent years.

The UAW negotiated a new GM contract in 1955 that raised labor costs an average 20 cents an hour. "In the first nine months of that year," Reuther reported, "for every hour worked by every hourly rated worker, General Motors made \$2.93 profit. Still they raised the price of their cars more than 4 percent, despite the fact that General Motors could have absorbed the 20-cent-per-hour collective bargaining package out of profits and still have made \$2.73 profit per hour for every hour worked by every hourly rated General Motors employee."

This same story can be repeated today. The only changes are higher productivity, higher prices, higher

profits. On the other side of the balance, fewer workers are employed and hourly wages buy less.

UAW top officials have never ceased trying to convince corporate management to develop a social conscience and stop operating solely to satisfy the profit greed.

But after twenty years of collective bargaining and close collaboration with the employers, the record shows no progress. Auto workers are more highly exploited today than ever before.

The demands of the UAW in the current strike against Ford for higher wages, more time off, and better health care are justified. But they are unlikely to be satisfied in this round of negotiations.

The Ford strikers and the workers in the GM, Chrysler, and American Motors plants have every reason to review the policy of their union officials and develop a new strategy to fight the corporations in open struggle for the social gains that are long overdue:

- A thirty-hour workweek.
- A cost-of-living allowance adjusted weekly to keep wages fully abreast of rising prices.
- Open access to corporate book-keeping.
- Constant monitoring of price hikes, and a check on all antisocial schemes of corporate management.

How to create jobs

These goals will never be achieved by the step-at-a-time method doggedly pursued by the UAW leadership. It is doubtful that even the modest request of twelve additional days off with pay will be granted by the auto corporations this year.

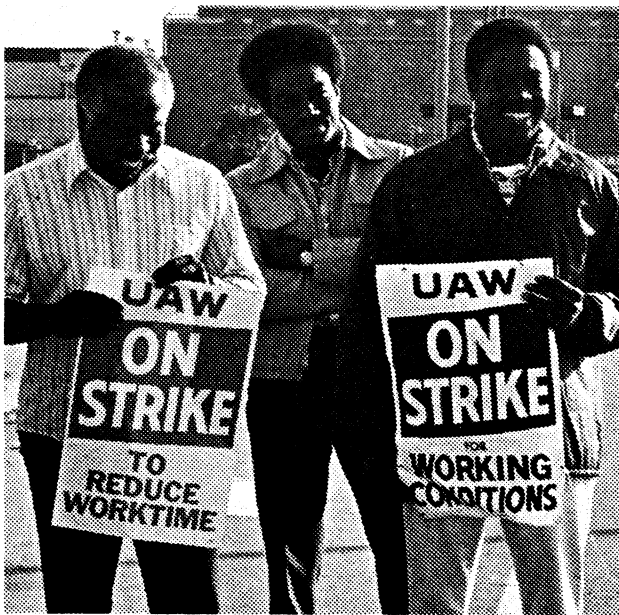
The twelve additional days would hardly make a dent in the surplus labor supply. The auto companies would be forced to hire few if any new workers.

The UAW's present demand may be useful to call attention to the crisis of unemployment, but it is certainly a poor excuse for a solution.

Unemployment will be reduced when the hours of work are reduced to six per day, and the thirty-hour workweek at forty hours' pay is made the national standard.

This requires rewriting union contracts, and a political fight by labor for a revision of the federal wages and hours law.

All talk about "social responsibility" in collective bargaining is meaningless when the social goals of the union are not clearly defined, and the ranks of the unions and their allies are not mobilized to win them.



Militant/Robin Maisel

Reuther (left), Woodcock, Ford pickets. Top UAW officials have collaborated with the auto corporations for decades, but haven't yet convinced them to put social needs above profits.

Fight against spying must go on

FBI admits it will continue files on SWP

By Diane Rupp

"We close cases all the time on groups, but if someone subsequently furnishes information on that group, we normally put it in the record. . . ."

That's how FBI spokesman Homer Boynton explained what the Justice Department's announced closing of the investigation of the Socialist Workers party means. Boynton and other Justice Department officials told the *Christian Science Monitor* that the G-men will continue to collect material about the socialists.

On September 13 the Justice Department announced that it had decided there was no legal basis to continue an investigation of the socialists.

The socialists immediately demanded that the FBI put the decision into practice by turning over all the files on the SWP and getting out the

sixty-six informers the FBI admits having in the SWP.

Boynton told the *Christian Science Monitor*, "I don't know how they're going to handle it," when asked what the FBI would do about the SWP's demands.

Robert Havel from the Justice Department told the *Monitor*, "The informants are in the party. It will be up to them to decide."

The socialists have insisted that since the government planted the informers in the first place, the government must turn over files on them and pull them out.

The importance of the government getting its informers out of the SWP is underlined by what FBI officials have admitted about informers.

"You can't set up the same standards as you would in hiring an agent," W. Mark Felt, former acting associate

FBI director, told the *Christian Science Monitor*. "... The chances are that he's not going to be the most upright citizen in the community. . . . You have to be as careful as you can, but you have to take what you can get, too."

Timothy Redfearn, the FBI informer recently indicted for burglarizing the Denver SWP, shows just what kind of person the FBI can get to do its dirty work.

When Redfearn was first accused of the burglary, SWP members visited his apartment and found Nazi insignia on his walls.

Redfearn had not just hauled off documents from the SWP office for the government, it turned out. He had broken into socialists' homes. And while stealing papers there, Redfearn helped himself to other valuables. In fact, Redfearn's role as an FBI thief came to light only because Denver police arrested him for another, non-political burglary.

"You try to caution him and govern what he does," said Felt, "but some aren't the most disciplined in the world. . . ."

The other "reforms" so dramatically announced by the FBI in recent months have also meant nothing. FBI Director Clarence Kelley admitted that at his September 22 meeting with the new Senate Select Committee on Intelligence.

On August 11 Kelley announced a major shake-up of the FBI. He said that political spying would be transferred from the general intelligence section to the FBI's criminal section. This, he claimed, would limit G-men to investigating crimes instead of "subversive" ideas.

Kelley told the Senate committee, however, that FBI spying was not being limited to investigation of criminal cases.

According to the *New York Times*, "Mr. Kelley told the committee that the potential threat to the security of the nation posed by some radical and

revolutionary groups put their cases 'beyond the pale of the general criminal investigation.' The need to investigate such groups' intentions in order to prevent hostile acts before they occur, he said, 'somewhat submerges the need to prosecute.'"

Yet, while admitting this, Kelley boasted about the FBI's concern for "the rights and privacy of our citizens, including their sacred right of legitimate dissent."

"If Kelley had any respect for democratic rights he would turn some of these words into practice." That's what Wendy Lyons of the Political Rights Defense Fund had to say when the *Militant* asked her about Kelley's Senate testimony. The PRDF is organizing support for the lawsuit by the SWP against the FBI and other political police agencies.

"The FBI claims it is closing its case on the SWP. Still, FBI informers will keep on spying. FBI files will go on collecting data," continued Lyons. "All this points to the importance of continuing our fight against government attacks on our rights. The attorney general's order did not and will not end spying and harassment."

New support for SWP suit

The lawsuit by the Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance against government harassment is winning broad support. More than four hundred notable individuals and organizations have become sponsors of the Political Rights Defense Fund, which is organizing support for the legal offensive.

Among the most recent sponsors is John DelVecchio, a steelworker. In a letter to the PRDF, he wrote:

"Although I do not fully agree with all the views of the Socialist Workers Party, I feel that all political viewpoints have a right to be aired in our country without fear of repression and government spying."

"Incidentally, I am the vice-president of Local 7528 of the Steelworkers Union and editor of our local union paper, *The Union Speaks*. As a labor editor and active

unionist, I am especially concerned about the protection of the free speech and political rights of all our citizens."

If you would like to be a PRDF sponsor, return this coupon to the Political Rights Defense Fund, Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

☐ Please add my name as a sponsor of the Political Rights Defense Fund.

☐ Enclosed is a contribution of \$ _____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Organization (for identification only) _____

Signature _____

PRDF appeal

The Justice Department claims that it is sending notices to a few of the people who have been targets of government Cointelpro disruption programs.

Information from these notices may be useful evidence for the lawsuit by the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance against government harassment.

If you receive official notice that you were a victim of Cointelpro, please write to the Political Rights Defense Fund, Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

Denver jury indicts informer, but not his boss

By Ruth Getts

DENVER—"Jury indicts Redfearn, silent role of FBI," reported the September 24 *Rocky Mountain News* headline.

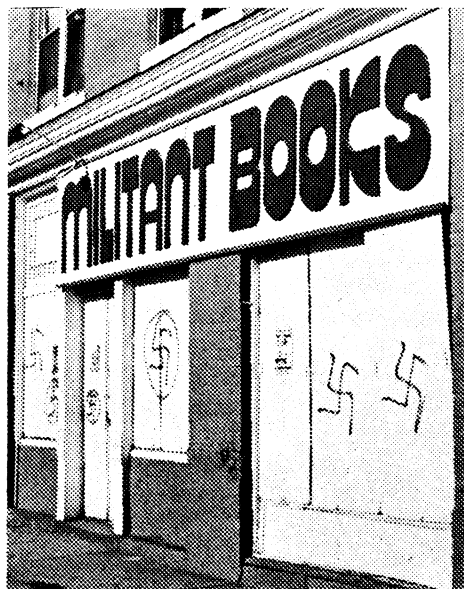
The Denver grand jury indicted Timothy Redfearn, a paid FBI informer, on charges that he broke into a local Socialist Workers party office and stole documents. The grand jury refused, however, to indict FBI agent John Almon, who directed Redfearn's activities.

The FBI paid Redfearn to inform on and harass the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance for five years. During that time Redfearn supplied the FBI with membership lists, minutes of meetings, and financial records that he stole from the SWP Denver office and homes of individual members.

Redfearn was arrested last July 14 on charges of stealing furniture from a neighbor. After that arrest, Redfearn's role in burglarizing the SWP offices July 7 came to light.

The grand jury recommended that evidence and transcripts of its hearings be forwarded to the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence and to the Justice Department. Both have requested information about the FBI informer's illegal work.

According to the *Washington Post*, "The jury also said that it wanted publicly to urge federal officials to take greater care in ensuring that 'only responsible FBI agents' be assigned to future domestic security investigations."



Militant/Frank Lord

Grand jury did not investigate recent Nazi activity. Denver SWP headquarters was spray painted in August.

Despite this recommendation, however, the grand jury did not indict FBI agent Almon. When the FBI turned over Redfearn's files for a lawsuit by the SWP against government harassment, Almon's role in the July 7 burglary was revealed.

Redfearn's files included receipts from Almon for stolen documents. The files also showed that Almon knew of the burglary on July 7 but covered it up until July 16 under orders from FBI Director Clarence Kelley.

This contradicted Almon's sworn

statement to a Denver district attorney that he had not accepted stolen material.

The *Washington Post* reported that "sources familiar with the investigation said the Denver grand jury had considered the possibility of perjury or conspiracy indictments against Almon and some of his superiors in the Denver office. But, the sources added, the panel concluded it did not have sufficient evidence."

Peter Camejo, SWP presidential candidate, who arrived in Denver after the grand jury announcement, commented on the failure to indict Almon. The September 25 *Denver Post* quoted Camejo, "Anyone who pays for a burglary and anyone who handles stolen material is also committing a crime. Yet agent John Almon wasn't indicted. Why?"

The grand jury also failed to investigate possible FBI involvement in recent Nazi threats and actions against the SWP. On April 5 unknown assailants fired five shotgun blasts through the windows of the SWP office. On August 30 the SWP headquarters was found spray-painted with swastikas. The socialists have recently received hate mail from Nazis.

When SWP members visited Redfearn's apartment after he was accused of the July 7 burglary they found it decorated with Nazi flags.

Denver Deputy District Attorney Spriggs has stated he is certain the FBI does have informers in right-wing groups. But he told SWP members that

it is none of his business and that he does not want to conduct a "witch-hunt" against the FBI.

"If you don't want to get hate mail," one Denver policeman told SWP members, "then you should get out of that line of business."

"This statement is simply a refusal by the Denver police to protect the rights of socialists or anyone else they disagree with," responded Priscilla Schenk, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress from Colorado's First Congressional District. "Freedom of political association is not a 'business.' It is a democratic right of every citizen. And the Denver police have a responsibility to protect that right."

Recent revelations of FBI attacks against the Socialist Workers campaign have prompted many local groups to join in defense of democratic rights. A public meeting for defense of civil liberties is planned for October 23 at the Denver Law School Auditorium at Thirteenth and Bannock.

Cosponsors include the Denver American Civil Liberties Union; the National Conference of Black Lawyers in Colorado; the Denver Federation of Teachers; the National Organization for Women; Associated Students of Metro State College; Associated Women's Students at Metro; Jane Reynolds of the Colorado Civil Rights Commission; Regis Groff, Colorado state senator; Carpet, Tile, and Linoleum Workers Local 419; the Socialist Workers party; and the Metro Young Socialist Alliance.

Demand investigation of U.S. ties

Protests hit murder of Chile junta foe

By Steve Bride

WASHINGTON—A former high-ranking official of Chile's Unidad Popular government was killed here September 21 when a bomb exploded in his automobile.

Already a number of protests and statements by prominent individuals have raised the charge that Orlando Letelier, forty-four, a former foreign and defense minister, was murdered by the same rightist forces that ousted the Allende regime in a bloody U.S.-backed coup three years ago.

Also killed in the blast was Ronni Karpen Moffitt, twenty-five, a co-worker of Letelier at Washington's Institute for Policy Studies (IPS). Moffitt's husband, Michael, also in the car when the explosion occurred, was not seriously hurt.

Letelier was a prominent critic of the Pinochet dictatorship in Chile. Early this September the junta revoked his Chilean citizenship. The colonels charged that Letelier had helped influence the Dutch government to refuse to underwrite a \$63 million mining investment planned for Chile.

Shortly after Chilean officials revoked his citizenship, Letelier told Tariq Ali in an interview published in the September 23 issue of the French revolutionary socialist daily *Rouge*: "When they do this, it means they are going to kill you. They withdrew my citizenship, this means that I am on their black list."

Letelier had been in the United States about two years. He came here after his release from a Chilean prison as a result of international protests.

Letelier had been arrested by the junta almost immediately after the September 11, 1973, coup that toppled the Allende regime. He was Allende's defense minister at the time of the



Orlando Letelier being taken prisoner during right-wing coup against Allende regime.

coup, having just completed a three-year assignment as Chilean ambassador to the United States.

Protests linking the death of Letelier to the Chilean junta began almost immediately. The day after the explosion more than 500 persons in Washington heard IPS member Egbal Ahmad demand the arrest of the murderers of Letelier and Moffitt and the release of all political prisoners in Chile.

The same day, 800 demonstrated in front of the Chilean Embassy in New York's United Nations Plaza. The protest was called by Chile Democrático. A short rally heard Henry Foner, president of the Furriers Joint Board; a representative of the Puerto Rican Socialist party; and New York attorney

Peter Weiss denounce the assassination of Letelier.

Weiss demanded that a government investigation of the killing be held that "must be more than a whitewash." He demanded "an investigation that tells how many DINA [Chilean secret police] agents there are in this country and what links exist between the CIA, the FBI, the State Department, and Pinochet."

On Sunday, September 26, some 2,500 people participated in a memorial procession and funeral for the former Chilean official. Hortensia Allende, widow of Salvador Allende, spoke. She blamed the military junta for Letelier's death and demanded "that the United States pursue a thorough investigation which will unmask the perpetrators of

this monstrous crime."

A resolution has been introduced in the U.S. Congress calling for an investigation. Sen. James Abourezk (D-S.D.) declared, "The tyranny of the dictatorship in Chile has now been extended in part to the United States." Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) said that Letelier's "criticisms of the junta's violations of human rights had produced a rare and totally unjustified removal of his Chilean citizenship by the junta. Now his murder follows."

William Wipfler of the National Council of Churches said: "Whether or not we wish to accept it, this kind of terrorist attack is a fallout of our own policy of 'destabilizing' the democracy of Chile under Allende . . . Now it has resulted not only in the death of Orlando Letelier but in the death of an American citizen in Washington, D.C."

Letelier's death continues a pattern of murderous assaults on former Allende government officials. Two years ago a Buenos Aires bombing—still unsolved—killed Carlos Prats González, former commander general of the Chilean army. A year later in Rome, Bernardo Leighton Guzmán, a leader of Chile's Christian Democratic party, was severely wounded by machine-gun fire.

A full investigation aimed at halting this violence against critics of the junta would prove very embarrassing to Washington, one of the key backers of the dictatorship.

This may explain the cynicism and hypocrisy of FBI agents who, according to the *Washington Post*, "said privately that bombings will be more difficult to prevent because of new domestic security guidelines in the wake of disclosures that the FBI improperly infiltrated some radical domestic organizations."

Amnesty: Where does Jimmy Carter stand?

By John Sidebottom

When Jimmy Carter addressed the national convention of the American Legion some weeks ago, his speech was interrupted by boos and hisses.

"I do not favor blanket amnesty [for Vietnam War resisters]," Carter told

John Sidebottom is a Vietnam-era veteran and a leading activist in the Wisconsin Veterans Union at the University of Wisconsin Milwaukee campus.

the legionnaires. "But for those who violated Selective Service laws, I intend to grant a blanket pardon."

"To me there is a difference," he said. "Amnesty means that what you

did is right. A pardon means that what you did—right or wrong—is forgiven. So, pardon yes, amnesty no."

The catcalls from these Yankee-Doodle patriots should not mislead amnesty supporters into thinking that Carter said something good. He didn't.

Let's look more closely at Carter's position.

Early in his drive for the Democrats' top spot, Carter used the term "unconditional pardon" to describe his position on amnesty. But he never explained exactly what he meant.

How would his plan be applied? Which categories of the more than one million people in need of amnesty would be covered by it?

Carter's deliberate lack of clarity on

these questions stemmed from his overall campaign strategy: be vague on the issues and appeal to almost everyone on almost everything.

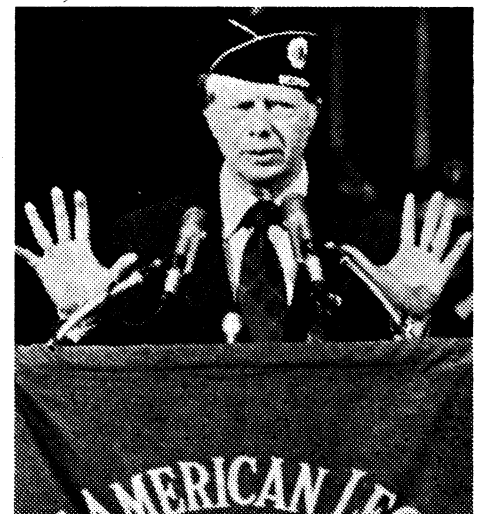
Under pressure from proamnesty groups, however, Carter finally issued a one-page position paper explaining his views more concretely.

This position paper stated quite clearly that Carter's "pardon" would cover *only* the 4,400 indicted draft resisters who are either living in exile or underground in this country.

In other words, Carter's plan excludes the overwhelming majority of those in need of amnesty.

It excludes, for example, the more than 790,000 Vietnam-era veterans

Continued on page 30



CARTER: No friend of veterans and Vietnam War resisters.

The 'Militant' names a new managing editor

By Steve Clark

Flip back to page 2. Now look at the bottom of the left-hand column. Notice anything different?

For one thing, the *Militant* has a new managing editor—Nelson Blackstock.

Blackstock, a member of the Socialist Workers party National Committee, has been working on the *Militant* since January 1975. This summer Vintage Books, a division of Random House, released Blackstock's book, *Cointelpro: The FBI's Secret War on Political Freedom*.

Cointelpro tells the story of the FBI's "counterintelligence" operations against the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance

during the 1960s and 1970s. The book is based on a series that first appeared in the *Militant*.

A native of Georgia, Blackstock became active in the Southern civil rights movement in the early sixties. In 1964 he joined the staff of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and participated in its Mississippi Freedom Summer.

That same year, Blackstock was one of a group of Southern civil rights activists who gathered in Nashville, Tennessee, to found the Southern Student Organizing Committee.

During this same time he first ran into the *Militant* and became a regular reader.

In Atlanta during 1965 and 1966 Blackstock helped organize some of the earliest demonstrations in the South against the Vietnam War.

In 1967 he and others formed the Atlanta chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance, the first in the South.

Documents released to the Socialist Workers party last year revealed that Blackstock was the target of two separate Cointelpro operations in Atlanta in 1968 and 1969.

In 1969 and 1970 Blackstock was national organizational secretary of the YSA. During those years he was also editor of the *Young Socialist* magazine.

Before joining the *Militant* staff, Blackstock was Socialist Workers

party branch organizer in Oakland, California, and Houston, Texas.

What about the *Militant's* former managing editor, Larry Seigle? He is now working in the SWP national office helping to coordinate the party's work. But he still intends to submit articles to the *Militant* now and again.

Something else is new in the business information on page 2. The *Militant* also has a new business manager, Harvey McArthur. Before coming to New York, McArthur was a member of the SWP in Philadelphia.

Rose Ogden, the former business manager, is now a copy editor in the *Militant* editorial office.

Red-baiting in UMW

The expulsion of several reporters branded as "communists" from the United Mine Workers convention in Cincinnati is both an outrageous denial of freedom of the press and an abridgement of the rights of mine worker delegates.

The exclusion was rightly condemned as "a classic example of prior restraint, forbidden by the Constitution," by Jack Landau, executive director of the Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press.

The real target of the red-baiting tirades at the UMW convention, however, is not the radical press or even radicals within the union. The real target is the union, its 277,000 rank-and-file members, and the democratic gains they have won since they overturned Tony Boyle's corrupt, pro-company dictatorship in the union in 1972.

The atmosphere of anticommunist hysteria is intended to divert attention from the big issues facing mine workers. It is intended to stifle discussion on how the union can best respond to attacks from the coal operators and the courts. It is intended to intimidate delegates from voicing their opinions freely and openly, for fear that they too will be branded as "reds."

The same crude smear tactics are also being used today by the Abel machine in the United Steelworkers against the union reform movement led by Ed Sadlowski—a movement partly inspired by and modeled on the Miners for Democracy campaign in the UMW.

The red-baiting was launched on the second day of the convention as part of an attack on Arnold Miller, who was elected UMW president in 1972 in the triumph of Miners for Democracy. Mike Trbovich, who was elected vice-president on the Miners for Democracy slate but has since allied himself with right-wingers in the union, charged that staff members hired by Miller were "socialistic, revolutionary, and Communistic."

Trbovich's remarks drew a poor response from the delegates, however, who saw them as divisive and antiunion. The right-wing elements then focused their fire on charges that some delegates and reporters were "card-carrying Communists."

This time the red-baiting ploy succeeded in sidetracking the convention. It was symbolically appropriate that the outburst disrupted discussion on the crucial issue of health and safety. An issue championed by Miners for Democracy. An issue on which the coal operators have fought the union every step of the way to maintain their profits at the expense of miners' lives.

The coal profiteers fear the confidence and militancy of the new generation of miners, and they despise the steps taken to give the ranks a voice in union policy. The corporate executives chastise Miller for failing to keep the union "under control." They long for a return to the cozy relationship they had with Boyle's regime.

The leaders of the right-wing smear campaign—notably District 23 Director Lee Roy Patterson—are remnants of the old Boyle machine. They share the aims and serve the purposes of the coal companies, not miners. Their attempts to revive the McCarthyite witch-hunt atmosphere of the 1950s are a threat to the UMW and to the entire labor movement.

Legal lynching

On August 28, 1955, Mississippi racists kidnapped fourteen-year-old Emmett Till. Three days later a fisherman found Till's badly mutilated body in the Tallahatchie River.

A month later, Till's murderers walked out of a Mississippi courtroom free men.

It was a legal lynching.

Today, a different kind of legal lynching is being attempted in Mississippi's courts. A white judge has found the NAACP guilty of a "conspiracy" that "illegally created a monopoly" because the NAACP boycotted stores in 1966 and 1967.

The judge said the NAACP must pay white merchants \$1.2 million, or post bond of \$1.6 million if it wants to appeal.

The NAACP doesn't have that kind of money. If it can't raise it by October 5, this nation's biggest, oldest, and most prestigious civil rights organization says it may have to close its doors.

The judge's ruling is part and parcel of the same racist offensive we see in Boston today. Significantly, it was NAACP lawyers who won the 1954 Supreme Court ruling against school segregation and who took Boston's segregated schools to court.

All advocates of social justice have a stake in this fight. Labor and civil rights groups have a special duty and interest, since they also use the boycott weapon.

This attempted legal lynching in Mississippi must be stopped. The NAACP must not become a new Emmett Till.

Letters

San Diego cab strike

The most dynamic feature of the San Diego Yellow Cab drivers' strike now in progress is undoubtedly the "courtesy car" program.

Originally designed to take business away from scabs and to minimize customer inconvenience during the strike, the cars have also proven to be a successful publicity tool in this fight against union-busting.

Drivers responded to the call with their own family cars and gas. There is no charge for the service, but the men I talked to stress that most fares are happy to make a donation when the strike issues are explained.

The union has publicized its demands and the courtesy car service through word of mouth, TV news spots, and union-printed business cards bearing a brief message and the union hall number.

They've set up their own network of taxi stands throughout the city, using public phones instead of car radios.

Ray Pratt, the man in charge of the courtesy service, says the union is handling seventy or eighty calls an hour during the day and about forty an hour at night.

Although they have wide public support, the drivers are apprehensive about possible city collusion with Yellow Cab and court strikebreaking actions. They are digging in for what may be a long and bitter fight.

Mark Taylor
San Diego, California

Two-party con game

Thank you very much for entering my ten-week trial subscription so quickly—all done in one week's time. You may be sure that I'll be looking forward to receiving the paper and I can promise you now that I shall take out a one-year subscription when you send me the renewal notice in eight weeks.

I am a forty-five-year-old independent progressive who has flatly and irrevocably turned against the two-party con game, after all these years. I played this Dem-Rep-Conservative-Liberal game since 1952, and now I can clearly see the errors, foibles, fallacies, and "rat-race" syndrome of so-called free-enterprise capitalism.

Please count on my 1976 SWP support. I sent in a donation on September 6, and am looking forward to the material, buttons, etc., requested.

I too admire your having a place for us social-minded gays in your program, appeal, and outreach. There's no place for us in the Dem-Rep (or most left-wing organizations for that matter), and this is one big reason why I support the 1976 SWP ticket, program, and appeal.

Your paper is very cheap, considering the quality and quantity. I respect and heartily admire your general political line. Keep it up!
D.S.

New York, New York

John Wayne on bicentennial

"Sure, our forefathers were revolutionaries, but they were responsible revolutionaries; they didn't go around burnin' and pillagin' other people's property."

This thoughtful analysis was dribbled out by John Wayne in response to local TV reporters' penetrating questions. The Duke was in Philadelphia to help celebrate the bicentennial.

His visit must have been comforting to Hizzoner Mayor Rizzo, who was upset that Frank Sinatra had copped out on his commitment. Old Blue Eyes was supposed to have sung the national anthem on the big day.

Bill Hovland
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Mao eulogy

Chinese Prime Minister Hua Kuo-feng's eulogy of Mao Tsetung includes a one-sentence summary of the history of the Communist party of China, as follows:

"Under Chairman Mao's leadership, our party defeated the opportunist lines pursued by Chen Tu-hsiu, Chu Chiu-pai, Li Li-san, Lo Chang-lung, Wang Ming, Chang Kuo-tao, Kao Kang, Joa, Shu-shih, and Peng Teh-huai and again, during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, triumphed over the counterrevolutionary revisionist line of Liu Chao-chi, Lin Piao, and Teng Hsiao-ping."

How many, whether inside or outside China, know what these once-prominent political figures actually stood for? Anybody who accepts Hua's summary must take on faith that virtue defeated error in every single controversy between Mao and other Chinese leaders.

The purged were never able to argue for their ideas before the party or the people of China. Instead, they got denounced as "capitalist roaders" by those doing the purging. The Peking authorities seem to fear that the rank and file can't be trusted to hear and weigh the arguments of competing factions.

Apparently they feel it is safer for them just to tell the masses what to think. Their attitude can properly be called paternalist. Their claim to being fighters against bureaucracy therefore should be rejected.

Workers democracy and paternalism don't mix. The Chinese people deserve a revolutionary regime which never shrinks from speaking honestly to them about the past and the present.

David Herreshoff
Highland Park, Michigan

Detroit youth gangs

I am not a member of the Socialist Workers party, but I subscribe to the *Militant* and follow your ideas eagerly because I believe your party offers a hopeful and realistic alternative to the government and economics we now have.

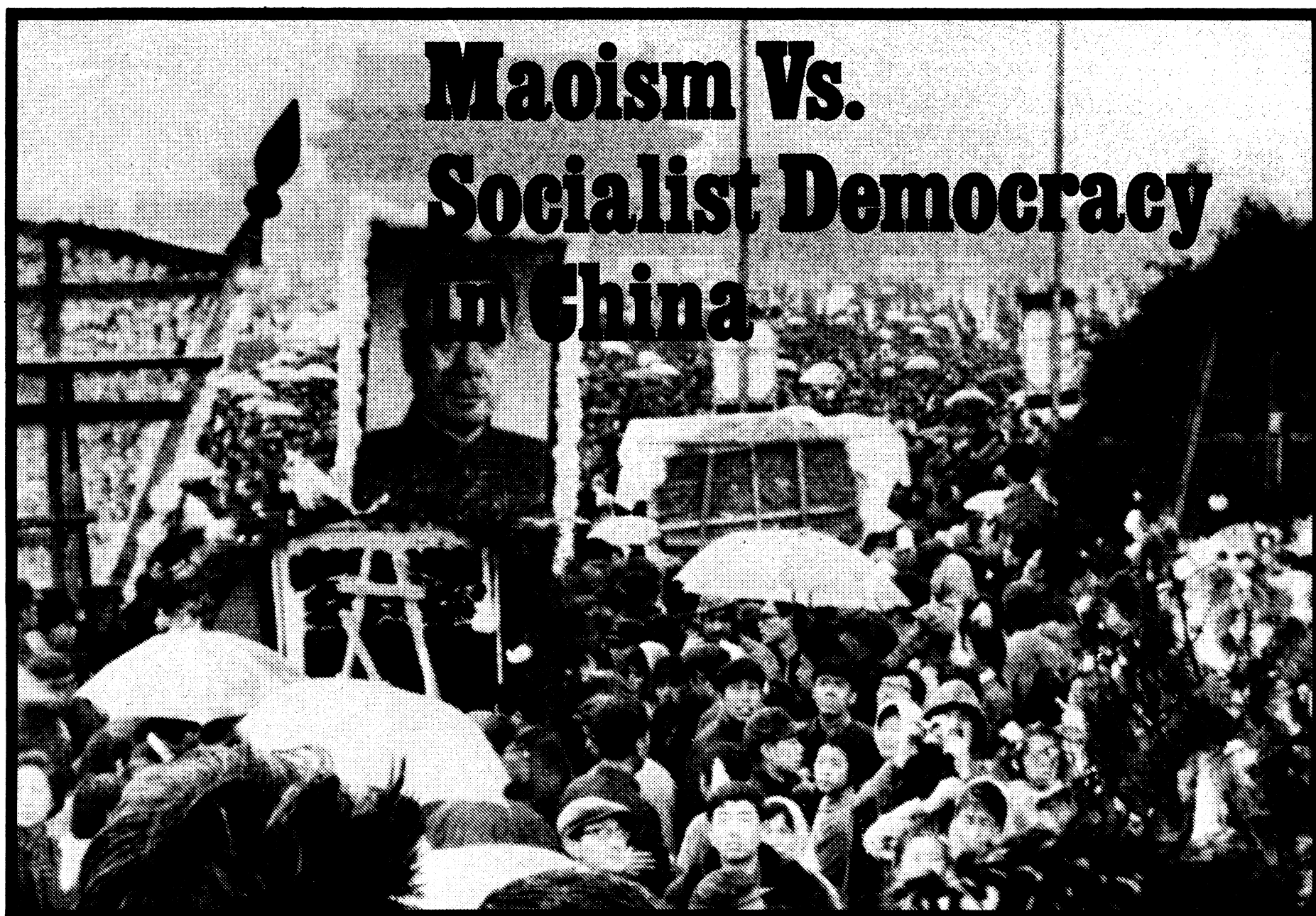
In recent issues of *Time* and *Newsweek*, I read accounts of "weeks of gang terrorism that included killings, a near riot, robberies, pillaging and rape." I also read of the incident at Cobo Hall where 125 Black youths beat and robbed "scores of patrons" and gang-raped one woman. The cops reportedly made no moves to control the attackers or protect the attacked, at least for an hour.

Then I turned to your September 3, 1976, article, "Black gang scare." I expected to get another view of the facts of that situation, but instead I got the *Militant's* defensive attitude toward Blacks and some long-range solutions to Black oppression.

I cannot see how you blame the "capitalist-owned news media and politicians" for the "hue and cry about the dangers of Black youth gangs." If the facts as reported in *Time* and *Newsweek* are true, then the *Militant* is responding like a permissive,

Continued on page 23

international **socialist** review



Peking's Tien An Men Square, April 5. One hundred thousand people took part in this spontaneous protest, which was savagely repressed.



**DEATH
PENALTY--
Two
Opposing
Views**

THE MONTH IN REVIEW

The Unrepresented

A recent poll taken by the Committee for the Study of the American Electorate found that half of all eligible voters—a staggering 70 million people—will not participate in the upcoming elections. Solid majorities of those polled agreed to statements that “quite a few of the people running the government in Washington are a little crooked”; “candidates say one thing and do another”; “it doesn’t seem to make any difference who is elected because things never seem to work out right”; and “the government in Washington is pretty much run by a few big interests.” In a poll of thirteen major institutions “the two political parties ranked at the bottom.”

Much more than indifference is being expressed by these prospective nonvoters: they are indicating bitter resentment at the sleazy performance of the capitalist candidates, the capitalist parties, and the capitalist government.

Some liberal columnists and editorialists expressed strong hopes that the presidential debates would reverse the growing hostility toward capitalist politics-as-usual. Every effort was bent to assure such an outcome, including the undemocratic exclusion of all contenders except the Democratic and Republican candidates.

However, the ninety minutes of insipid mouthings by Carter and Ford—livened only by a twenty-seven-minute audio failure—only deepened the growing feeling that the capitalist parties have nothing—or worse than nothing—to offer in 1976.

The stance of the two candidates on abortion typifies the problem confronting the American working people in this election. While more than 70 percent of Americans, according to some polls, believe that abortion is a woman’s right and oppose anti-abortion laws, the two candidates “debate” only about how far to go in restricting the right of abortion.

They even have the arrogance to pretend that their reactionary and antiwoman stands represent the “consensus” of opinion. In one sense they are right. Ford and Carter represent the “consensus” of capitalist opinion, which happens to be in direct opposition to the views of working people.

Those Americans who think that “it doesn’t seem to make any difference who gets elected because things never seem to work out right” have begun to realize a basic reality about the capitalist two-party system. Regardless of whether Ford or Carter is elected, the majority of American people, working people, will be completely unrepresented in Washington. These candidates represent only “a few big interests,” the capitalist class.

No matter how many blasts of hot air issue from the “great debates” about full employment, stopping inflation, tax reform, equal rights, or peace, Ford and Carter are certain

to continue the policies that serve the profit-takers: unemployment, rising prices, tax breaks for the rich, sexism, racism, and imperialist military adventures.

Because the two-party system means the absolute denial of representation to working and oppressed people, the percentage of nonvoters has always been rather high in the United States. This contrasts with the situation in other capitalist democracies where reformist workers parties, such as the Swedish Social Democratic party or the British Labour party, exist. The higher voter participation in these countries reflect the fact that at least there is an alternative based on the organizations of the working class—even if the current policies of these parties while in office are bitterly disappointing to their working-class supporters.

The fact is, however, that working people, women, and oppressed minorities in this country do have a choice in 1976—although the restrictive election laws seek to prevent it and the capitalist media try to conceal it through gimmicks like the two-party “debate.”

Unlike Ford and Carter, Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, the presidential candidates of the Socialist Workers party, belong to a party run by working people. The SWP puts forward a program that represents the basic interests of working people—for full employment, for the Equal Rights Amendment and the right to abortion; for the struggles of Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans against racist discrimination in jobs, education, and housing; for an end to the war budget; and for replacing the declining and antidemocratic capitalist system with socialist democracy.

As a practical step toward a powerful working-class alternative in politics, they call for the trade unions to found a new party of labor and the oppressed.

Supporting Camejo and Reid is one way to work toward giving working people—the unrepresented majority—a voice in American politics.

Breath of Fresh Air

While the newspapers and TV are filled ad nauseum with the bluster of Carter and Ford, together with reports of voter apathy over the whole election contest, there is something happening of much greater importance that goes largely unreported.

A struggle is rising in the United Steelworkers of America that could lead to a shake-up of the entire labor movement in this country.

This is the Steelworkers Fight Back movement led by Ed Sadlowski, director of USWA’s District 31. On September 13 Sadlowski formally announced that he is running for the presidency of the union. The elections will be held by membership referendum in February 1977.

Sadlowski’s program is simple, but is like a breath of fresh air compared to the double-talk of union bureaucrats in this country. The most important themes of Sadlowski’s program are:

- For democracy in the union and the right of all members to vote on their contracts;
- Against all restrictions on the right to strike, labor’s indispensable weapon.

- Rejection of racism as incompatible with unionism;

- Telling the truth about the nature of the union officialdom today: an entrenched bureaucracy that lives more like the bosses than like workers and puts collaboration with the employers above the interests of the rank and file.

The capitalist rulers are aware of what is at stake in the Sadlowski challenge. On the national TV program “60 Minutes” September 19—one of the few media features on the campaign of Steelworkers Fight Back—announcer Dan Rather predicted that if Sadlowski does win in February, “he will send shivers through American industry.”

Inside the union, current President I.W. Abel and his machine have launched an all-out drive to bury Sadlowski. In the past few months, Sadlowski supporters have faced everything from bureaucratic harassment and fraud in union elections, to red-baiting slander and thug assaults.

Despite this campaign of intimidation, union activists have begun to rally to the Sadlowski movement with a fervor and determination that is seldom seen in unions today.

At Sadlowski’s news conference to announce his campaign for the presidency, a *Militant* reporter interviewed some of the crowd of steelworkers present.

“I’ve been in the mill twenty-six years,” said one, “but I’ve never been an active supporter of the union before. But when I heard Sadlowski speak for the first time, it did something for me. . . . There are so many naïve people in the union. They don’t know what’s happening and have never been to a union meeting. But we’re going to see that all these people know the truth. I’m making myself available as a volunteer.”

The USWA is the largest industrial union in the country, with 1.4 million members. But the impact of the Sadlowski campaign can go way beyond even this powerful union. It can inspire similar developments in other unions and pose new perspectives for the Black struggle and women’s struggle.

The ruling class is also aware that Sadlowski’s ideas can find fertile ground in wide layers of the working class.

In a column buried in the business section of the September 27 *New York Times*, A.H. Raskin writes that “the race is viewed as a barometer of worker sentiment in a power push by young rebels bent on stopping the ‘collaborationist’ trend in steel and other industries and returning labor to the confrontationist tactics of the early New Deal years.”

Dan Rather made a similar point on “60 Minutes,” after Sadlowski had said the right to strike was the most important right of workers. “Isn’t that a terribly old-fashioned view?” asked Rather.

By “confrontationist” and “old-fashioned” tactics, these ruling-class spokespeople simply mean the tactics that established the industrial unions in the first place—that is, determined action in defense of the interests of the mass of workers.

The progress of the Sadlowski campaign indicates that profound changes are taking place in the attitudes and composition of the American labor movement. It shows a new receptivity to class-struggle ideas among workers. It points to new class battles on the horizon.

CONTENTS

The Month In Review	2
Maoism Vs. Socialist Democracy In China By Doug Jenness	3

The Death Penalty— Two Opposing Views	8
Letters	12



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Maoism Vs. Socialist Democracy in China

Following the death of Mao Tsetung on September 9, troops were put on the alert throughout China. Mao's heirs no doubt recalled the mass protest that erupted last April following the death of Chou En-lai. What is behind the smoldering discontent in China and where can it lead?

Following is an edited version of a speech given by Doug Jenness, member of the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers party, at the twenty-eighth national convention of the SWP, held in August.

Although the talk was given before the death of Mao Tsetung on September 9, it remains just as relevant today, when the demise of this figure has raised anew the question of the character of Maoism and of the political and economic systems in China.

By Doug Jenness

The massive demonstration in Peking's Tien An Men Square on April 5, in connection with the death of Chou En-lai, was a dramatic expression of the discontent that has been smoldering for years against the Stalinist regime in China. About 100,000 people participated in a protest that dealt a blow to the regime's policy of suppressing even the mildest forms of dissent. The demonstration marked an important turning point in the development of the Chinese workers state.

From eyewitness accounts of journalists and participants and from official Chinese news reports, we can piece together a picture of what occurred on April 5.

Wreaths Removed

For several days before the protest action, thousands of wreaths, many of them bearing political inscriptions, had been placed in the square in memory of the late Premier Chou En-lai. Early on the morning of April 5, large crowds gathered, drawn by the presence of work crews laboring behind a cordon of hundreds of cops. The crews had been there all night removing the wreaths and posters.

Toronto *Globe and Mail* correspondent Ross Munro reported in an April 6 dispatch: "Witnesses then saw a scuffle, policemen's hats going up in the air, and the crowd surge forward. In a short time the police lines were breached in a number of places and tens of thousands of people were on the square."

He reported that more than 10,000 people were on the steps of the main entrance of the Great Hall of the People itself, chanting and singing and surging back and forth. "With defiance in their voices," he wrote, "they sang the Internationale, the international Communist anthem."

"There was a sense of 'deja vu' for an observer who has witnessed many essentially nonviolent civil rights and antiwar demonstrations in North America," Munro wrote. "The mood of the crowd was a combination of excitement, fear, curiosity, and defiance."

The demonstrators were angry. Their chants and slogans showed it. They declared: "The People's Army should stand on the side of the people"; "Those befuddled by others are innocent"; and "We want genuine Marxism-Leninism." Mao's wife Chiang Ch'ing was attacked as a modern "Dowager Empress".¹

1. The Dowager Empress Tz'u Hsi (1835-1908) was the de facto ruler of China from 1862 until her death. She suppressed the reform movement of 1898 led by K'ang Yu-wei and imprisoned the young emperor, Kuang Hsü, her nephew, who had supported the reforms.

2. Ch'in Shih-huang (259-210 B.C.) was the first emperor of China and is generally regarded as one of the greatest despots of all time. As a supporter of the harsh Legalist philosophers, he ordered the burying alive of Confucian scholars and the burning of their books. During the campaign against Lin Piao and Confucius over the last two years, Mao has upheld Ch'in Shih-huang's methods for the suppression of dissent as a model for a revolutionary regime.

One of the most publicized poems found on one of the wreaths captures the spirit of the demonstrations. It said, in part:

*China is no longer the China of yore
And the people are no longer wrapped
in sheer ignorance.*

*Gone for good is Ch'in Shih-huang's feudal
society.²*

We believe in Marxism-Leninism!

*What we want is genuine Marxism-Leninism.
To hell with those scholars who emasculate
Marxism-Leninism!*

*For the sake of genuine Marxism-Leninism
We fear not shedding our blood and laying
down our lives.*

The day modernization in four fields is realized,

*We will come back to offer libations and
sacrifices.*

An April 7 release issued by Hsinhua, the Maoist press service, dwelled on the violence against the police cars, the police stations, and the cops during the Tien An Men events. It charged:

"... A bunch of bad elements besieged a People's Liberation Army barracks by the clock tower in the southeast corner of the square. They crushed the door, broke into the building and occupied it. A few bad elements, sporting a crew cut, took turns to incite the people, shouting themselves hoarse through a transistor megaphone.

"Toward 12 o'clock, some of the troublemakers proclaimed the inauguration of what they called 'Committee of the People of the Capital Commemorating the Premier.' A bad element wearing spectacles had the impudence to announce that the public security bureau must give its reply in 10 minutes. He threatened that if their demands were not met, they would smash the security department."

Demonstrations also occurred in other major Chinese cities.

The government, which had been orchestrating a nationwide campaign for months against the so-called capitalist-roader Teng Hsiao-p'ing, responded to these actions by stripping Teng of his party and government posts. Hua Kuo-feng, formerly head of the political police, was made premier.

The government then organized parades throughout the country to support these moves. Stunned by the Tien An Men demonstration and its aftermath, the regime was trying to show that its actions were popular. This effort backfired.

One news summary noted that the demonstrators waved flags, "banged drums and beat gongs and cymbals. But the parades seemed to lack spontaneity, and pedestrians watching the marchers failed to match their enthusiasm."

Ross Munro wrote of the demonstrators: "The adults, who had been brought from their factories and other work units to participate in the demonstration, betrayed little emotion as they repeated the chants shouted out by the group leaders who carried sheets of paper with the approved slogans written on them."

Mass Discontent

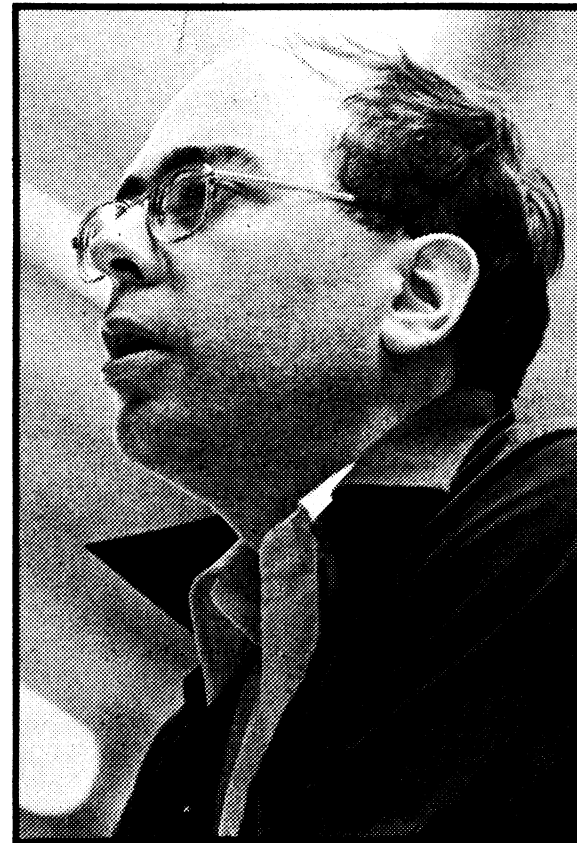
The government response to the Tien An Men protest was savage. Thousands of militiamen and soldiers were called in to disperse the crowds. A number of protesters were reportedly beaten to death by the troops. At least two demonstrators have been executed by a firing squad. Others have been sentenced to thirty years of hard labor.

In July, Munro reported that the Tien An Men action "is still under intensive investigation.

Diplomats here say that a virtual door-to-door canvass has been under way in Peking, with officials asking people what they know about the incident and who participated in it."

How seriously the regime took the Tien An Men demonstration was revealed by the reference in its statement to the 1956 Hungarian revolution. It accused the demonstrators of nominating Teng Hsiao-p'ing "to play the role of [Imre] Nagy, the chieftain of the counterrevolutionary incident in Hungary."

Nagy was a representative of the Stalinist bureaucracy who favored lessening the police-state repression practiced by the Soviet-backed Rákosi regime. When the Hungarian workers rose against Rákosi and began to form workers councils, Nagy was installed as premier as a concession to the masses. When this failed to stem the revolt, Soviet troops crushed the workers and overturned the Nagy government.



Lou Howort

DOUG JENNESS

Nagy was subsequently executed. The Peking regime, which then had much closer relations with Moscow, hailed the Stalinist bloodbath in Hungary.

It is ironic that the top bureaucrats in Peking, who now claim that the Soviet Union was taken over by fascists and capitalist restorationists months before the Hungarian revolution, still raise the specter of the Hungarian workers uprising to denounce a demonstration in 1967 against their regime.

Whatever irony there may be, the comparison is very appropriate. The massive, spontaneous antigovernment demonstration in Peking in April is the same type of direct action as the general strike in East Germany in 1953, the Polish and Hungarian revolts in 1956, the Prague Spring of 1968, and the Polish protests in 1970 and in June 1976.

The demonstrators at Tien An Men were impelled by the same spirit that drives thousands of Soviet dissidents to circulate their *samizdat* publications in spite of the threat of imprisonment, confinement to mental hospitals, or death.

The bureaucratic overlords in Poland called the leaders of the June protests "drunken hooligans" and "hysterical women." The Maoist despots called them "troublemakers" and "bad elements with crew cuts."



An English class in Peking



Der Spiegel

These slanders show the bureaucrats' fear of these actions. Such outbreaks point to and are part of the struggle for the political revolutions that will uproot the privileged bureaucratic castes in these countries and replace them with workers democracy.

Although the Tien An Men action took the form of intervening in an intrabureaucratic struggle and expressed illusions about Chou-En-lai's role, its most significant feature was that it brought masses of Chinese into the political arena as participants acting in an independent fashion.

The scope, militancy, and slogans of the protest showed that there is deep resentment against the regime—its stifling thought control, its cops, and the way the army is used against the population. It showed a recognition that real Marxism and Leninism must be different from the banal offerings of the Maoist theocracy.

Furthermore, 100,000 demonstrators in the streets against the regime in Peking in the face of the cops, and additional thousands in other cities, means that millions and millions more are dissatisfied.

The bold defiance of this massive initiative has undoubtedly heightened consciousness and increased the confidence of the discontented. The probability is that hundreds of secret meetings are being held and thousands of pamphlets and leaflets are being passed from hand to hand and from city to city. In this way the masses are learning to express the deeply felt protests that they would never dare to voice at official "criticism and self-criticism" sessions under the watchful eyes of Maoist bureaucrats.

In the summer of 1975 it was reported that there were struggles in the factories of Hangchow. Workers demanded higher wages and backed up their demands with slowdowns and strikes. Ten thousand troops were sent into these factories to break the strikes or, as the *People's Daily* put it, "to participate in production."

Previous Protests

The Tien An Men action and the Hangchow strikes and activities like them will continue to occur. They foretell the transformation of the discontent and pressure of the masses into mass actions.

On two previous occasions there have been significant protests against Mao's bureaucratic rule. The first was during the "Let a Hundred Flowers Bloom" campaign in 1957. The second took place during the Cultural Revolution in the 1960s.

The "Hundred Flowers Bloom" campaign was instituted by Mao during the period of the Khrushchev revelations and "de-Stalinization" in the Soviet Union, when the bureaucracy granted some concessions to the Soviet masses.

For a few months Mao, under the slogan "let a hundred flowers bloom, let a hundred schools of thought contend," permitted greater freedom of speech and thought. The result was unexpected—criticism of the regime spread like wildfire. Mao then called for a halt to the period of relaxation, claiming that "poisonous weeds" had turned up among the flowers. Hundreds of thousands of people were forced to recant or were put under surveillance. Tens of thousands were arrested and sent to "labor reform" in the countryside. Some have yet to be released.

Another chapter of independent protest was

written during the major intrabureaucratic struggle, the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution," launched by the Mao Tsetung-Lin Piao faction against Liu Shao-chi and his associates in 1965.

In the course of this purge, movements from below began to appear that could have threatened the Maoist leadership's control had they developed further. However, they were stopped short by a combination of manipulation and finally direct repression.

The working masses, taking advantage of the splits among the contending factions and spurred into action by one or another of them, began to put forward their own economic and social demands and to move along independent lines. Such outbreaks flared into general strikes in transportation and in many plants in industrial centers like Shanghai and Nanking.

Student actions played a role in the Cultural Revolution. The Red Guards were initiated by the Mao faction as a weapon against Liu Shao-chi. The Red Guards did not arise as an oppositional movement, but from the very beginning were backed, financed, and protected by the very summit of the state power.

The Red Guards were used by the Maoists to drive their factional opponents out of city governments throughout the country. A number of these groups tried to carry out some of the democratic-sounding proposals that Mao demagogically advanced in order to isolate Liu Shao-chi.

Mao then revealed his true face to the Chinese worker and student masses. In January 1967 he ordered Lin Piao's army to intervene. After blocking with the student and worker Red Guard groups to mop up the remnants of the party and city committees Mao looked on as opponents, the army turned on the Red Guards. In clashes that went on throughout 1967 and 1968, the military whittled down and finally crushed the volatile but amorphous mass movement.

By late 1968 the Red Guards had been completely—and sometimes bloodily—demobilized. The strike wave had been broken. Many youth were banished to remote regions for "thought reform."

The Chinese Revolution

What are the origins of a regime that acts in this way toward its own workers and young people? What should be the attitude of revolutionists toward it?

Paradoxical though it may seem to some, this reactionary government arose out of one of the most progressive events in the history of the human race, the Chinese revolution. This fact sometimes leads supporters of the Chinese revolution to identify the revolution with the Mao regime, and thus to ignore the regime's antidemocratic character.

Revolutionary socialists hailed the Chinese revolution as an immense blow to the world capitalist system. We have defended it from all threats, attacks, and blockades imposed by imperialism. In the midst of the anticommunist witch-hunt in the United States, the Socialist Workers party stood in defense of the Chinese people when the U.S. imperialists threatened their gains in the Korean War.

The Chinese revolution was a momentous event that inspired hundreds of millions of the world's people. Its impact deepened as the

standard of living of the masses rose because of economic planning in contrast to the abysmal conditions in India, a comparable country where the capitalist system and landlordism still hold sway.

Cholera epidemics and famines that killed millions under the old order have been essentially eliminated. As a result of the mass pressure and struggles of women, some of the most barbaric features of the oppression against them were destroyed.

Journalists and travelers to China are often amazed by the advances that have been made, in comparison to what they know existed in the past and in contrast to the lies of anticommunist propaganda. Some of these people became almost uncritical friends of the government. But what their reports really demonstrate is the superiority of a planned economy over the anarchy of capitalism.

The Chinese masses confront immense problems, however.

In no country had a workers state been established up to that time where the economic conditions were so backward, where the size and social weight of the working class was so small relative to the peasantry, and where the material basis for moving toward a socialist society was so weak. The revolution inherited the semicolonial conditions of a nation plundered for decades by competing imperialist powers.

The Bolsheviks explained that the Russian revolution had broken the capitalist chain at its weakest link. By that they meant the weakest link among the imperialist countries. As backward as tsarist Russia was when the Bolsheviks assumed power in 1917, it was an imperialist country and not a colonial or semicolonial nation. Russia in 1917 had a more highly developed working class and economic structure than China in 1949.

Marx and Engels did not foresee the possibility of a workers state being established in a colonial or semicolonial country, and even the Third International under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky considered this unlikely. Trotsky, in fact, did not come to the conclusion that the Chinese revolution must culminate in a workers state until 1927. The recently published *Leon Trotsky on China* contains documents and articles showing how Trotsky reached the conclusion that the permanent revolution applied to China and consequently to other colonial and semicolonial countries.

Even with the best of leaders, even with a Bolshevik party led by Lenin and Trotsky, the task of lifting China from its backward past onto the road of socialism would be an immense challenge. The bitter reality is that the present leadership, far from being up to the standards set by Lenin and Trotsky, is an obstacle to driving forward the transition from capitalism to socialism.

A bureaucratic, totalitarian leadership existed from the very beginning of the revolution. In this sense there is no parallel with the Soviet Union, where the 1917 revolution established a democratically run government based on workers and peasants councils that conducted an internationalist foreign policy, helping to give birth to the Third International.

This revolutionary government in the Soviet Union lasted for several years before a privileged bureaucratic caste, basing itself on the poverty

and isolation of the workers state, usurped power from the working class and eventually destroyed the Third International.

There was also no parallel to the long faction fight that occurred in the Bolshevik party—where a Marxist left opposition rooted in the working class combated the process of degeneration. To consolidate its power, the bureaucratic caste had to destroy the Bolshevik party and to murder the leaders of the revolution.

Stalinist Class Collaboration

The origins of the Stalinist Chinese Communist party (CCP) lie in the defeat of the 1925-27 revolution—a defeat for which the Kremlin and its treacherous advice to the Chinese CP were fully responsible. They ordered the Communist party to join the Kuomintang and to support Chiang Kai-shek. In 1927 he carried out bloody massacres of workers and peasants, crushing the revolutionary upsurge.

The revolutionary forces of the party who criticized the class-collaborationist line of Stalin were purged and the Stalinized CP retreated to the countryside.

There it led peasant struggles and constructed a guerrilla army. It was rapidly transformed from a party primarily of industrial workers into one with a composition that was well over 90 percent peasants.

In the early 1930s the CCP proclaimed the Chinese Soviet Republic in Kiangsi Province. Mao claimed that this "soviet" had as many as 9 million people under its rule. When this rural government was defeated by Chiang Kai-shek's army, the CCP army undertook its long march, ending with the establishment of a CCP regime in Yenan in 1935.

In response to Stalin's call for the formation of popular fronts between communist parties and capitalist forces, the CCP formed a popular front with Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang against the Japanese invaders.

Mao did more than join with Chiang in opposing the Japanese, however. He dissolved the "soviet republic," declaring his support for Chiang's regime. He offered to place his military forces under Chiang's command and called a halt to land reform in the regions under CCP control.

Despite these moves, territory under CCP control grew during the war. While Chiang was reluctant to fight the Japanese, preferring to launch bloody attacks on the CCP forces instead, the Maoist army fought the invaders and gained support as a result.

When World War II ended there were essentially two governments in China—the peasant-based government run by the CCP and the bourgeois government of Chiang Kai-shek.

The circumstances that led to the CCP's victory in the next four years are not mysterious. The corruption, tyranny, and inefficiency of Chiang's government created a major crisis in political authority and in the economy. Inspired by the victory over Japan and spurred by the worsening economic situation, the peasant masses began to stir again.

The CCP repeatedly tried to form a new coalition government with Chiang, offering to fuse their military forces with his and to accept a minority position in a government headed by Chiang. But the dictator adamantly refused and demanded conditions that would have amounted to unconditional surrender of the CCP.

Although the CCP built a powerful military force based on a gigantic mass movement of the peasants, the social aims and class objectives they tried to impose on this movement were always class-collaborationist. It was Chiang who blocked the achievement of these objectives by launching attacks on the zones ruled by the CCP as soon as World War II ended. These attacks escalated into an all-out assault on the CCP forces in July 1946.

Mao adamantly resisted the elementary democratic demand of land reform until the summer of 1946, because he feared such an upheaval would bar the door to alliances with the Chinese capitalists and the Kuomintang.

Until October 1947, when Mao for the first time since the early 1930s called for the overthrow of Chiang, the CCP program was limited to demanding a coalition government headed by the Kuomintang, based on a mutual agreement to preserve Chinese capitalism.

When the CCP finally yielded to the peasants'

demand for a redistribution of the land, the resulting upsurge quickly swept beyond the liberated zones. Chiang Kai-shek's forces began to disintegrate under the impact of this elemental mass movement.

The peasant revolt and the defeats dealt to Chiang's army by the CCP military forces in Manchuria and elsewhere produced the virtual collapse of Chiang's apparatus. By the time Mao's forces marched into major cities like Nanking and Peking in 1949, they met little or no resistance. Whole armies with their commanders deserted Chiang and joined Mao's forces in the last months of the war.

Chiang Kai-shek counted on Washington to bail him out, but it wasn't able to. The American working people were tired of war. The massive "bring us home" movement of GIs in Asia and Europe was dramatic proof of this.

The collapse of Chiang Kai-shek's regime and the victory of Mao's forces bore many resemblances to the collapse and disintegration of Thieu's army in South Vietnam in 1975, which led to the victory of the liberation forces.

The Overturn of Capitalism

The government established by the CCP in 1949 attempted to draw capitalist representatives into the regime. The "Common Program" adopted that year declared that the government "shall encourage the active participation of all private economic enterprises beneficial to the national welfare . . . and shall assist in their development." It opposed the strikes and demonstrations of workers.

When the United States invaded Korea in 1950 and General MacArthur marched toward the Chinese border, all the reactionary riff-raff remaining in China gained confidence and raised their heads. This included many former Kuomintang functionaries who were kept on the payroll of the new government, capitalists, rich peasants, and others of that ilk—the real card-carrying capitalist-roads, one might say. The United States imposed a tight economic blockade.

Under these conditions the new government could not permit the private owners of industry to use their base in the economy as a beachhead for counterrevolution. The survival of the new regime was at stake.

While dispatching its armies to drive back MacArthur's invasion, the regime was compelled to take measures against these forces. In the aftermath of the Korean War, these measures culminated in the overthrow of capitalist property relations.

The regime extended and deepened the land reform, nationalized industries, established a monopoly of foreign trade, and launched the first five-year plan. New property relations were established, marking the creation of a workers state.

The government that carried this through was transitional. Revolutionary Marxists have characterized such a government as a workers and

farmers government, a government independent of the capitalists and landlords that comes to power under revolutionary conditions but has not yet abolished the economic dominance of capitalist property relations.

In China, this kind of government held sway from the downfall of capitalist political and military power in 1949 until the overturn of capitalist property relations in 1953.

This confirmed the basic analysis made by Trotsky in 1927. He argued that coalitions with capitalist figures like Chiang, which were advocated at that time by Stalin and later by Mao, barred the way to solving the basic tasks of the Chinese revolution—national independence and land reform. Only the establishment of a workers state would make a victorious accomplishment of these goals possible.

Mao and the Chinese Stalinists tried a different approach—a theory of "two-stage" revolution. The first stage was to be a coalition with the bourgeoisie—entitled "new democracy"—which was projected as lasting for decades. In spite of their orientation, the CCP was dragged along by the logic of the revolution itself.

The historical record shows that at every stage of these tumultuous events there was accord between the Chinese Stalinists and the Kremlin. The first signs of any serious rift did not occur until the late 1950s.

Throughout World War II and afterwards, the CCP loyally carried out the Kremlin's line of attempting to establish a coalition government with the Kuomintang. Chiang's all-out attack on Mao's forces after the war coincided with the launching of the cold war against the Soviet Union.

Tom Kerry, a longtime leader of the Socialist Workers party, described the situation at that time in "A Mao-Stalin Rift: Myth or Fact?" in the September-October 1969 *International Socialist Review*. He writes:

"Under the circumstances Stalin could only view with jaundiced eye the prospect of a Nationalist victory in the Chinese civil war or even a coalition regime in which the CCP was stripped of its armed forces to become hostage to a puppet of American imperialism. Stalin was prepared to go to considerable lengths to avoid the danger of a war on two fronts inherent in the control of China by a hostile regime. In the period from June 1946 to the definitive split in China in January 1947 and after, there was no valid reason, either from a political or military view, for a 'break' between Stalin and Mao. On the contrary, the interests of the Soviet Union required a friendly ally on its eastern frontier."

In 1950, a few months after the CCP government was installed, economic pacts were signed between the Soviet Union and China. Thousands of economic advisers and technicians were sent to China and remained there until Khrushchev ordered their withdrawal in 1960.

Bureaucratic Rule

From the very beginning the new government



Hong Kong Standard

'Trotskyist youth, organized around the newspaper *Young Militant*, initiated a united-front demonstration of 1,000 persons in Hong Kong to protest Peking's suppression of the Tien An Men demonstration. This was a major achievement for the small revolutionary socialist forces because it was the first rally of this kind in Hong Kong in twenty years.'

was undemocratic, barring the masses of working people from any voice in government. During the Yen'an period the CCP leadership had established a secret-police system with the help and participation of the GPU of the Soviet Union. As soon as the CCP was installed in power in 1949, Soviet GPU agents were again invited in to help set up a nationwide secret-police apparatus. Political dissent against the Stalinist regime was ruthlessly suppressed.

There were no councils through which the masses could participate in making basic economic, political, and social decisions. All decisions were made by the CCP functionaries. Since the late 1920s, the CCP itself has not been a democratic organization like Lenin's Bolshevik party. The ranks do not debate or decide the party's program and policy, and factions or tendencies are barred. All major decisions come from the top down.

From the time the liberation armies entered China's major cities to the present, the regime has had a fearful and hostile attitude to the urban workers. When the capitalist enterprises were expropriated and national planning was instituted in 1953, the character and administration of the plan was decided by professional bureaucrats and not by the working people. This remains the case today.

of the country, the bureaucrats used their political power to assign themselves economic and social privileges. From the very beginning, they functioned as a privileged bureaucratic layer—a distinct caste that had its own interests to defend and its own way of life far different from the life led by the workers and peasants. In this decisive respect, the regime in China is similar to that which has ruled the Soviet Union since Lenin's death and the crushing of Trotsky's Left Opposition.

The social basis of this caste is the poverty of Chinese society and the scarcity of the consumer needs of the masses. There aren't enough of the basic human necessities to go around. In *The Revolution Betrayed*, the classic analysis of the sociology of the Stalinist bureaucracy, Trotsky wrote:

"When there is enough goods in a store, the purchasers can come whenever they want to. When there is little goods, the purchasers are compelled to stand in line. When the lines are very long, it is necessary to appoint a policeman to keep order. Such is the starting point of the power of the Soviet bureaucracy. It 'knows' who is to get something and who has to wait."

It is the bureaucracy that skims off the cream from the national income, and the workers and

especially heads of state, are wined and dined by mayors and government ministers.

The bureaucratic caste that rules China is not the same as the privileged sector of workers that we characterize as the aristocracy of labor. They are not part of the work force. Of course, the bureaucracy draws support from the more privileged sectors of the working class and the peasantry. In fact, it deliberately perpetuates divisions in the working class in order to strengthen its grip on the reins of power. For example, it has established a scaled wage system to help institutionalize wide income differentials.

The bureaucratic caste is not proletarian—not in its outlook, its composition, or its relationship to production. It is petty-bourgeois through and through, a parasitic obstacle to the fullest and most beneficial development of the economy.

The word parasite has many meanings but the most appropriate one for this case is the biological meaning. The dictionary defines parasite as "a plant or animal living in, on, or with some other living organism, its host, at whose expense it obtains food, shelter, etc." That description fits the bureaucracy to a T!

Socialism in One Country

It is with the narrow goal of protecting their privileges that the Stalinist bureaucrats put forward the concept of "socialism in one country." This perspective was first applied by Stalin to the Soviet Union in 1924 and has since been adopted by the bureaucracies in the deformed workers states of Eastern Europe and China.

These bureaucracies blithely proclaim that the transition from capitalism to socialism can be carried to completion in a single isolated country—their own—no matter how impoverished the country may be and without aid from revolutions in other lands.

The living reality of the class struggle, and the writings of all the great Marxists since Marx and Engels, testify that this is impossible. Socialism means that scarcity has been eliminated and that the principle of "from each according to his abilities and to each according to his needs" is applied.

Not even the most advanced countries can achieve this goal with their own limited resources alone. It requires socialist planning and economic collaboration on an international scale. The establishment of a workers state in a poor country like China is a giant step toward the socialist goal, but China cannot reach this goal on its own.

Privileged bureaucrats who feel that they have "made it" economically may ignore this reality. To Chinese workers and peasants, however, the inadequacy of their low living standards is all too obvious, despite the many gains the revolution has brought them.

The fact is that the bureaucrats have no intention of charting a course toward socialism in one country, two countries, or fourteen countries. Their call for socialism in one country is a camouflage for their real purpose—the defense of their caste. The real slogan of the Stalinist bureaucrats—which they cannot state openly—is: "Defend and extend the privileges of my caste in my country."

Mao's Rightist Foreign Policy

The situation that best enables the bureaucracy to carry out this program is a live-and-let-live arrangement with the imperialist and capitalist countries. To appease the capitalists, the bureaucracy seeks to accomplish class-collaborationist *détentes* wherever it can. Revolutionary struggles of working people and oppressed masses in other countries are subordinated to this goal, and betrayed in its interests.

Within this framework, Chinese foreign policy appears to zigzag to the right and then to the left and back again. This depends primarily on which capitalist countries the bureaucracy is able to establish diplomatic deals with or, on the other hand, which ones appear to be militarily threatening its survival.

This course leads to a disintegration of even the pretense of solidarity between workers states, as the widening conflict between Peking and Moscow shows. It also explains why the Maoist misleaders, unlike the Bolsheviks, have never called for building an international revolutionary organization to help advance the world revolution.



Mao with Stalin and Bulganin in 1949

Peking's policy of collaboration with the most reactionary of the imperialist politicians is reminiscent of the Stalin-Hitler pact, when the Kremlin urged Communist parties to stop criticizing Hitler and concentrate their fire on the capitalist democracies. China's position is even worse in some respects, since it indicates readiness to support imperialism in a war against the Soviet Union, a workers state.'

Trade unions, instead of being independent bodies for defending workers' interests, are government-controlled organs used to discipline the workers. Even the elementary right of individual workers to choose their occupation, place of work, or city of residence is denied by the Stalinist regime.

There is no right to form parties or tendencies that support the revolution but oppose or even publicly criticize Mao. On the contrary, a cult of Mao's infallible "thought" has been fostered.

A workers state has been established in China, but there is no workers democracy. It is a *deformed* workers state.

From the time the government took power and began taking the measures that led to the establishment of a workers state in 1952-53, the struggle for workers democracy—for demands pointing toward the political revolution—was completely intertwined with carrying out and deepening the proletarian revolution.

The Stalinist traditions and ideology of the CCP had a great deal to do with shaping the Chinese regime. But the bureaucratic apparatus, composed of tens of thousands of functionaries, was guided not only by these factors but by its own material interests.

Bureaucratic Privilege

As they consolidated their power as the rulers

peasants who have to wait.

Of course the bureaucracy doesn't admit that it expropriates a huge chunk of the national income for itself. As a result, it is difficult to get accurate information on this.

One type of privilege that has been reported by many visitors to China is the way top government officials live and eat.

When *New York Times* reporter Harrison Salisbury went to China in 1972 he was invited to the home of Soong Chi'ing-ling, the widow of Sun Yat-sen and a vice-chairwoman of the Peking regime. She lives, as he described it, in "a palace that once housed a Manchu prince on the banks of the Imperial Lakes." The lavish meal included pigeon soup, Chinese prawns, fish, and duck. She apologized to Salisbury for the clumsiness of the servants, explaining: "We must all serve ourselves because my waiters have all gone to the rural training schools for political reorientation and the new ones just aren't well trained" (*New York Times*, June 3, 1972).

You can rest assured that Soong Chi'ing-ling isn't the only government official with a huge house, servants, and fine foods. Many also have summer homes, use of state-owned automobiles, access to the best medical care, and better educational opportunities for their children. One has only to follow the weekly reports in *Peking Review* of how guests from other countries,

The Tien An Men demonstration came at a time when Maoists and sympathizers of Maoism throughout the world were being shaken and divided by the rightist stance of the Chinese regime in world affairs. One of the pro-Maoist publications that has criticized Mao's foreign policy is the *Guardian*, published in New York.

The editors disagree with Peking's assessment that the Soviet Union rather than U.S. imperialism is the main enemy of the world's peoples. According to an interview with William Hinton, the national chairman of the U.S.-China Peoples Friendship Association, published in the May 5, 1976, issue of the *Guardian*, China "judges world leaders by how well they understand this new relationship of forces. Thus, they prefer Heath to Wilson, Strauss to Brandt and Schlesinger to Kissinger."

This reactionary policy is reminiscent of the Stalin-Hitler pact, when the Kremlin urged Communist parties to stop criticizing Hitler and concentrate their fire on the capitalist democracies. China's position is even worse in some respects, since it indicates readiness to support imperialism in a war with the Soviet Union, a workers state.

Peking's latest turn has been more than many Maoists can stomach. It puts them on the spot with regard to the struggle right here in the United States, because the logic of Mao's position would lead his followers to seek collaboration with the U.S. rulers in order to combat the "main enemy."

Peking's reprehensible stands are not an aberration of an error by a well-meaning but misguided leadership. They are the practical application under present circumstances of its policy of "socialism in one country," going back to 1949.

Critics of Peking's international line are obliged to ask, What kind of regime is it that carries out a counterrevolutionary foreign policy? None of the contributions to the debate in the *Guardian* has addressed this question.

Guardian Managing Editor Jack Smith was typical in this regard when he wrote in the May 26 issue, "Foreign policy is just that—policy. And policy can change. It is our hope . . . that China's new policy will change. That, of course, is a matter for the Chinese party and people to deal with."

It is an axiom of Marxism that foreign policy is not "just" policy as Smith would have it, but is inseparably linked to the domestic practices and needs of a regime. The class character and political physiognomy of a regime play a

determining role in its foreign policy.

Maoist critics of China's diplomacy have denied this truth, hailing the leadership's domestic policies while bemoaning its international course. An example of this was the *Guardian's* coverage of the Tien An Men events, which consisted of reprinting a news release from Hsinhua, purporting to describe the incident.

This posture is becoming increasingly difficult to maintain, however. The facts about Tien An Men, and the social conflicts that underlay it, tell a great deal about the character of the government that stands behind the foreign policy criticized by the *Guardian*. They reveal that the government and its foreign policy are in consonance and not in conflict. Both are reactionary to the core.

The allies the Chinese workers and peasants need to help break the isolation they face are the workers and the oppressed in other countries, not imperialist warlords and not the procapitalist "nationalists" who head the neocolonial regimes in Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

Political Revolution

The struggle for workers democracy inside China is totally intertwined with the struggle for proletarian internationalism, the only road to the elimination of want and scarcity for the people of the world. Both struggles mean relying on the independent mass political action of the workers and their allies.

The working class and working peasants must rely on their own independent actions, their own organizations, and their own leaders. There are no individual leaders, cliques, or factions in the bureaucracy that the Chinese working people can count on to help fight for workers democracy. Neither Hua Kuo-feng, nor Teng Hsiao-p'ing, nor the aspiring "Empress Dowager" represent their basic interests.

The only road to deepening the revolution and carrying through the transition to socialism is by uprooting the entire bureaucratic caste and replacing it with a regime of workers democracy.

This will require a political revolution. The term political revolution is used because a democratic workers government would not overturn the property relations established by the upheaval of 1949-53. But the struggle to remove the bureaucratic cancer will be a real social upheaval in which women will press for full emancipation and national minorities will fight for democratic rights.

To carry through this struggle the working

class will need its own independent party, a revolutionary party that will be built out of the struggles that are now taking place and those that are coming. This party has to be armed with a revolutionary program of democratic and transitional demands that can help guide the masses from their present level of consciousness to the political revolution.

The basic nucleus of the revolutionary party exists in the Chinese Trotskyists. One of the oldest sections of the world Trotskyist movement, the Chinese Trotskyists crystallized in 1928, about a decade before the founding of the Fourth International. They have a rich history and unblemished record in the struggle for the Chinese revolution.

A Revolutionary Party

Some of the key leaders of the Chinese Trotskyist movement were founders and leaders of the Chinese Communist party. After their expulsion from the Communist party for criticizing the class-collaborationist course dictated by Stalin during the 1925-27 revolution, many of them were jailed and executed in the struggle against Chiang Kai-shek or died in the resistance war against Japanese imperialism.

When the Stalinists assumed command in 1949, the Trotskyists supported, campaigned for, and participated in the actions that drove the revolution forward. They actively supported the land reform, the nationalization of private property, and the defense of the revolution in the Korean War.

In 1952-53 the Mao regime rounded up the Trotskyists, their friends, relatives, and sympathizers, and jailed or executed them. No charges were ever leveled against them, no trials were held, and no word has been heard of them for more than twenty years.

The comparison between the treatment of the Trotskyists and the regime's handling of counter-revolutionists speaks volumes about its attitude toward workers democracy. Last year the Chinese government released 437 of Chiang Kai-shek's army officers, government officials, police agents, and spies. They were offered jobs and the rights of citizens if they chose to stay in China, or they could go to Taiwan.

If even a shred of proletarian democracy existed in China, Mao would open the jails and free the Trotskyists.

Mao has jailed, executed, or driven into exile the older generation of Trotskyists, but their voices and their example have not been lost.

A new generation of Chinese Trotskyists is

MORE ABOUT CHINA AND MAOISM

*Leon Trotsky on China

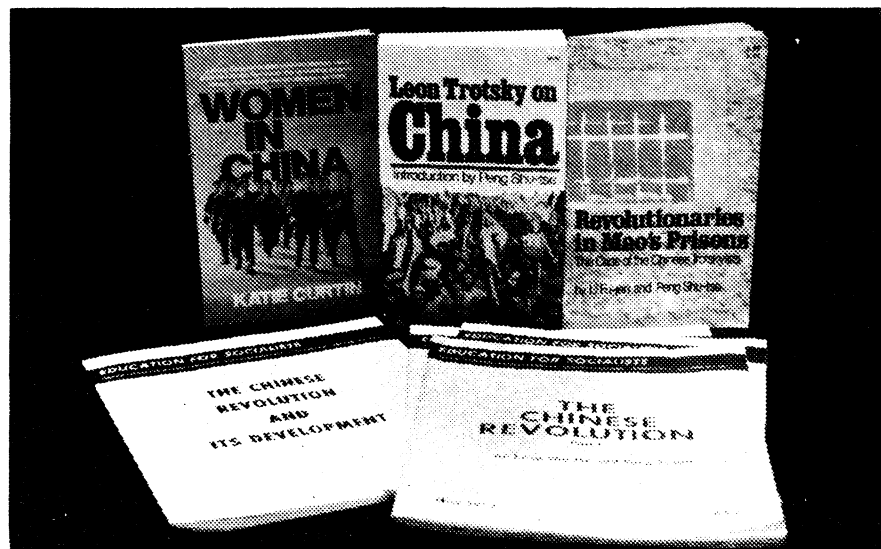
\$6.95 paper, \$22 cloth, 688 pp. This collection includes Trotsky's writings on the 1925-27 revolution in China, with his criticisms of Stalin's policy of support to the Kuomintang. Other items present Trotsky's view of the ultraleft Canton uprising of 1927-28, an analysis of the Chinese Communist party's role in organizing peasant guerrilla warfare, and explanation of Trotsky's opposition to the "anti-Japanese united front" formed by Mao and Chiang Kai-shek in 1937. Invaluable for understanding the origins of the Chinese revolution and the Maoist leadership.

*The Chinese Revolution

By Peng Shu-tse and Peng Pi-lan
3 volumes. Education for Socialists publication, \$2.85 the set, 176 pp.

Peng Shu-tse was a founding member of the Chinese Communist party in 1922. Peng Pi-lan joined shortly afterwards. Both were leaders of the struggle against the nonrevolutionary policies imposed on the CCP by Stalin during the 1925-27 revolution.

Includes Peng Pi-lan's reminiscences of fifty years in the Chinese revolutionary movement, and Peng Shu-tse's views on the consolidation of Mao's power in 1949, the "Great Leap Forward" and people's communes established in 1958, the "Great Cultural Revolution" of 1968, and his strategy for an antibureaucratic revolution in China.



*Revolutionaries in Mao's Prisons

The Case of the Chinese Trotskyists
By Li Fu-ten and Peng Shu-tse. \$.50, 24 pp.

*Women in China

By Katie Curtin. \$1.45 paper, \$6.00 cloth, 95 pp.

*The Chinese Revolution and Its Development

Documents of the Socialist Workers party.
Education for Socialists publication, \$.75, 48 pp.

stepping forward. At the present time its center is in Hong Kong, where they scored a major victory in May 1976.

Following the Tien An Men demonstration in Peking, the Trotskyist youth, organized around the newspaper *Young Militant*, initiated a united-front picket at the Hsinhua offices, and later a demonstration of 1,000 persons, to protest Peking's suppression of the April 5 action and the arrest of several hundred persons in the wake of Tien An Men.

This was a major achievement for the small Trotskyist forces because it was the first protest campaign of this kind in Hong Kong in twenty years. The Maoists are influential in this city and as usual attempted, through slander and hooliganism, to prevent the demonstration from being built or publicized. But in spite of their efforts the action was a success.

Two days after the Tien An Men protest, in an editorial in the April 15, 1976, issue of their monthly magazine, *October Review*, the Chinese Trotskyists declared:

"There is no doubt that a new awakening has begun among the revolutionary workers and peasants of China."

"A vast number of people have come to realize that they must independently intervene in the internal struggle in the CCP, and go on to intervene in national affairs. . . ."

"The intervention of the masses into national affairs is the only way to solve the current political crisis. Therefore we say:

"Workers and peasants of China, arise! Stand up in your great numbers and in full force! Wage a determined struggle to win what is your right and duty—to be the masters of the nation. If the bureaucrats dare to suppress you, redouble your efforts!"

"Soldiers, militiamen, do not suppress the people. Stand on their side, because only they are your brothers and sisters, while the privileged bureaucrats are the enemies of the workers and peasants."

When this program of Chinese Trotskyism—the authentic voice of Marxism in China—connects up and merges with the actions like that of the thousands at Tien An Men and the millions more who sympathized with them, there will be an explosion that will shake China from one end to the other. The political revolution of the Chinese masses will topple the Stalinist bureaucracy and usher in a new government of proletarian democracy and internationalism.

The Death Penalty: Two Opposing Views

Is legalized murder a deterrent to crime, or a weapon against Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and working people in general? Students at Georgia State University organized a debate to clarify the issues.

Pedro Olivari. On behalf of the Student Government Association and the Student Coalition Against Racism at Georgia State University, I would like to welcome everybody to tonight's debate.

About a month ago, the United States Supreme Court voted to approve the reinstitution of the death penalty in the United States. This decision has sparked mixed emotions. A controversy has erupted, manifested here in Georgia by positive and negative opinions on this state's new death penalty statute.

The governor of Georgia and some key legislators have stated that they are for the death penalty. On the other hand, there have been organizations that have expressed definite feelings against the death penalty. This has been manifested through mass meetings, press conferences, and the organization of coalitions whose objective is to oppose this statute. One of these new organizations is the Georgia Committee Against the Death Penalty.

Since many people don't know what the issues are, the purpose of this debate is to bring them forth, let everybody voice their opinions.

The format we are going to use is that every speaker will have a fifteen-minute presentation followed by a discussion period for questions and answers. Laughlin McDonald will be our first speaker.

Laughlin McDonald. I speak against the death penalty. My opposition to capital punishment is not grounded in sympathy for people who commit acts of violence. It's not grounded in indifference to cruelty or viciousness. It's not grounded in lack of concern for the victim. My opposition is grounded in the fact that capital punishment is discriminatory in its application and does not serve any legitimate goal of

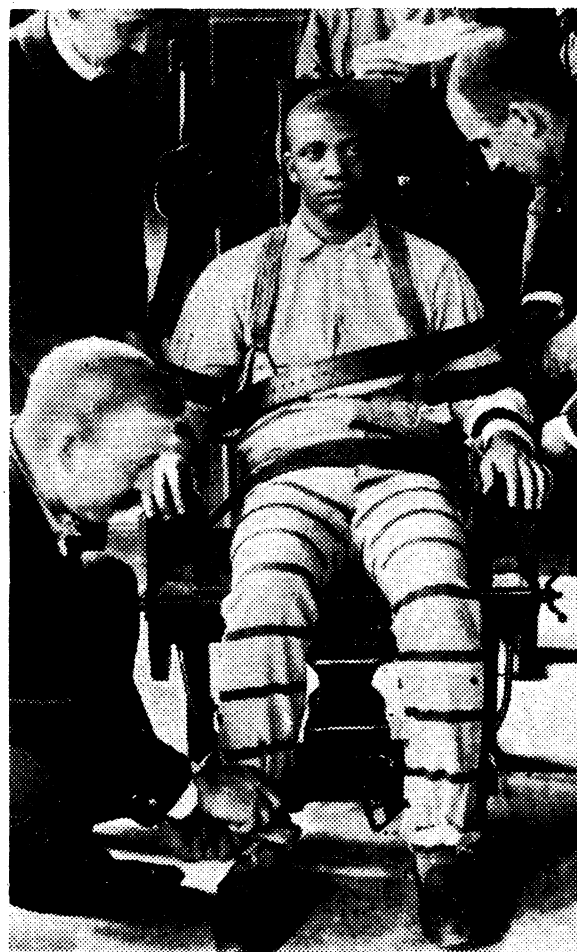
criminal law. Those are facts, despite the conclusion in *Gregg v. Georgia*, which found the death penalty law in this state to be constitutional.*

The death penalty cannot rehabilitate. In this state in particular, it is the epitome of what is brutal, what is mean, and what is discriminatory in the administration of our criminal justice system.

In the *Gregg* decision, the court allowed the states to determine whether or not they would impose the death penalty. It addressed itself to the constitutionality of procedures to single out the persons who are to suffer the penalty. It said that the procedures in Georgia were constitutional on their face. But it did not say that those procedures had in actual practice been applied in a constitutionally acceptable way.

That issue is the subject of a petition for rehearing which has been filed with the Supreme Court. That is why Justice Powell has stayed

* Troy Leon Gregg was the defendant in one of the cases dealt with in the Supreme Court's July 2 ruling on the death penalty. He had been convicted in Georgia of killing two men who gave him a ride as a hitchhiker.



Electrocution, USA

executions in the state until the court reconvenes and hears the petition for rehearing in October.

In my opinion, the death penalty cannot be applied in a nondiscriminatory way in Georgia. Further, the Supreme Court erred by elevating its own perception of popular sentiment above the requirements of the Constitution in holding that the death penalty per se did not violate the Eighth Amendment guarantee against cruel and unusual punishment.

In *Gregg*, the court held that whether or not a punishment was cruel and unusual depended on whether individual states continued to regard it as appropriate and necessary as a criminal sanction. It emphasized the fact that thirty-five states enacted new statutes after the first decision dealing with the death penalty, *Furman v. Georgia*.

This Supreme Court, the most persuasive members of which were appointed by former President Nixon, elevated states' rights to new constitutional dignity unknown since the *Dred Scott* decision of 1857 and the *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision in 1896. It concluded that the death penalty issue properly rests with the individual state legislatures.

'Segregated justice in the courts, particularly in jury selection, is routinely tolerated. Experience shows that the system of justice that exists allows the death penalty to be arbitrarily imposed, and it will be so imposed'—Laughlin McDonald, Executive Director of Southern ACLU

THE DEBATERS:

Laughlin McDonald is executive director of the Southern American Civil Liberties Union.

Bryant Huff is district attorney in Gwinnett County, Georgia, and argued the death penalty case before the Supreme Court.

William Kunstler is a noted civil liberties and civil rights attorney who has defended many victims of racist frame-ups, including J.B. Johnson as well as Dennis Banks and Russell Means of the American Indian Movement. *Melvin England* is a Presbyterian minister and formerly an agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

We reprint here major excerpts from the initial presentations in the debate. Participants have been unable to edit their remarks.

History shows that serious and even disastrous consequences have followed when the highest court refused to implement constitutional standards, particularly those affecting the rights of minorities as does the death penalty.

In *Dred Scott*, for example, the court let the individual states decide whether or not Negro slaves were citizens or chattels. Many states, including Georgia, had long before chosen the latter. The result of that decision was a national calamity. *Dred Scott* was not overruled until a bloody civil war was fought and the Thirteenth Amendment ratified in 1865.

A second instance of the court's deference to so-called states' rights was the infamous case of *Plessy v. Ferguson*. Here the court, in language which reads as if it came out of the *Gregg* opinion, concluded that the states had the right to decide that racial segregation was constitutional. The court said, "The legislature is at liberty to act with reference to the established usages, customs, and traditions of the people. . . . Gauged by this standard, we cannot say the law which authorizes and even requires the separation of the races is unreasonable or repugnant to the Constitution."

History will show that this court has repeated the error made in *Dred Scott* and *Plessy v. Ferguson*, and that the consequences will be equally regrettable.

I believe that *Gregg* has ominous implications. First, a significant aspect of the administration of the criminal law in the states will be shielded from meaningful judicial review. Secondly, the death penalty is not and never has been a useful or fairly imposed punishment in Georgia.

Historically, the state courts have trampled on constitutional rights, particularly in the administration of criminal law. William Howard Taft, later chief justice of the Supreme Court, said in 1905 that the administration of criminal law in all the states of the union with one or two exceptions is a disgrace to our civilization. Forty-seven years later, Justice Frankfurter—one of the more conservative members of the Supreme Court—quoted these words with approval.

We don't need either Frankfurter or Taft to tell us that state courts have an abysmal record of protecting the Constitution. Southern courts have, for example, tolerated every conceivable form of state-imposed official racial discrimination in the administration of justice, in education, in property ownership, housing, public accommodations, voting, and every aspect of public and private life.

Times have changed, of course, but they change in the federal courts. The resistance to change in the states was bitter and unyielding. By leaving the decision as to whether to execute offenders to the states, the Burger court diluted the protections of the Eighth Amendment and indicated willingness to tolerate an administration of justice which must be characterized as disgraceful.

No one can claim in good faith that Georgia has administered capital punishment laws fairly or impartially. In 1816 the penalty for rape applicable to whites was imprisonment for not less than two or more than twenty years. For slaves and free persons of color, the penalty was death.

In 1861, the law changed. Rape by a white person upon a free white female remained punishable by imprisonment for not less than two or more than twenty years, but rape by a Black person upon a slave or free person of color was made punishable by a fine and imprisonment at the discretion of the court. It was not until after the Civil War that the racial distinction in the punishment for rape was dropped from the Georgia statutes. In practice, discriminatory punishment remained.

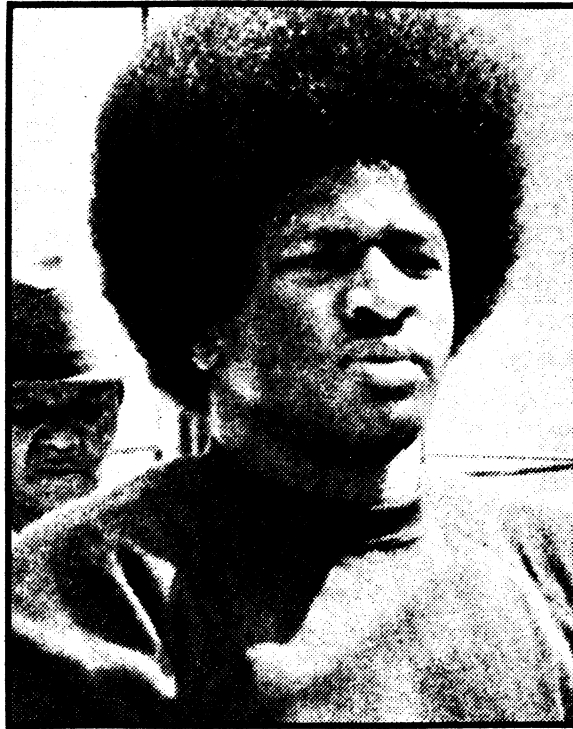
Blacks have regularly been executed for rape, while whites have almost never received that punishment. It is no response to say that a greater number of Blacks commit offenses. According to a recent study in Georgia, convicted Blacks are more likely to receive death than convicted whites. Whites convicted of rape in four-fifths of the cases studied received a light sentence, rather than the death penalty. Whereas Blacks convicted of rape in two cases out of three received the death sentence rather than a life sentence. It is no explanation of this phenomenon to say that the conviction rate of Blacks is higher.

One of the arguments for the penalty has been

that death is a great deterrent. Georgia has killed more people officially than any other state, yet Georgia still has one of the highest homicide rates in the United States.

Segregated justice in the courts is routinely tolerated in this state. This included things like segregated courtroom seating, references to minority witnesses by their first names, use of racial epithets, exclusion of minorities from juries, sentencing of convicted Blacks to racially segregated prisons, and formal or informal exclusion of Blacks from the bench and the bar.

Some of the cruder forms of discrimination like segregated seating have now disappeared. The



GARY TYLER

The meaning of the death penalty is symbolized in the case of Gary Tyler. Two years ago this week, the sixteen-year-old Black youth was leaving his high school on a school bus. The vehicle was surrounded by brick-throwing, shot gun-wielding whites opposed to school desegregation. A white youth was shot dead during the confrontation, and Gary Tyler was hauled in and framed up for murder before an all-white jury. The only witness claiming to have seen Tyler fire a gun later said her testimony was a lie prompted by police threats.

Gary's appeal for a new trial is now before the Louisiana Supreme Court. Six state assistant attorneys general have submitted a brief to the court arguing that Gary should not only be denied a new trial, but should be sentenced to death.

The threat of execution of Gary Tyler is a threat aimed at all Black youth who are fighting for the right to equality in education. It has nothing to do with "stopping crime."

legacy of this discrimination, particularly in jury selection, remains a chronic problem. In virtually every county in this state, this creates the appearance of bias in individual cases and increases the risk of actual prejudice as well.

Given this history, it is in my judgment simply intolerable that the state of Georgia should now commence executing the handful of social pariahs, misfits, and outcasts that presently reside on death row. Regardless of race they were selected by a discriminatory process. It is hypocrisy to think that executing these people will solve the problem of crime in the state of Georgia. Experience shows that the system of justice which exists in Georgia allows the death penalty to be arbitrarily and discriminatorily imposed, and that it will be so imposed.

Should we acquiesce in the reinstitution of

capital punishment, the reaction of each of us cannot be different from that of the novelist William Thackeray. He wrote in 1840 after witnessing a hanging that "the sight has left on me an extraordinary feeling of terror and shame. It seems to be that I have been abetting an act of frightful wickedness and violence performed by a set of men against one of their fellows. And I pray God that it may soon be out of the power of any man in England to witness such a hideous and degrading sight."

Pedro Olivari. Our next speaker is going to be Bryant Huff.

Bryant Huff. I'm the district attorney of Gwinnett County, right up the road from you. Don't get in trouble in my county.

I came down tonight to speak on behalf of capital punishment. I say to you that not only Georgia but all of American society needs the death penalty. We need it as an expression of moral outrage at certain offensive conduct. We need it as the ultimate punishment, as retribution. In our system of criminal justice the victim should no longer be required to suffer more than his attacker.

Most of you who do not support capital punishment don't know what crime is all about. You don't know what murder is. You think it's like what you see on TV, but that's not murder. You've got to go out and walk into that ditch and get the blood on your feet and clothing and inhale death. Believe me, you never get it out of your lungs. You need to go and see the family of the victim and say, "We have found your daughter."

I am really surprised at Mr. McDonald's argument against capital punishment. Mr. Justice Marshall, before whom we argued the *Gregg* case, said we need a meaningful life sentence. What is a meaningful life sentence?

Put them in a cage where there is no way to escape? None of those people want that. If that's the alternative, they'll all tell you, "Give me death because I don't want that kind of existence."

We don't have a meaningful life sentence and there is no way to get one, because those lifers continue to kill when they're in prison. They escape and they rob and rape and kill again. Statistics bear it out. Of course you can prove anything by statistics.

Capital punishment is just that. Punishment. You can argue until the end of time about the deterrent effect. You can't prove it. But out in Los Angeles, California—probably one of the most liberal places in the whole universe—they interviewed every armed robber. They asked, "Why didn't you kill your victim?" Those who replied said, because we were afraid we might receive a death penalty. I take the position that if a death sentence deterred only one person from killing someone, then that is a deterrent.

Rehabilitation. You can try to rehabilitate these animals and beasts who roam the countryside and kill for no reason.

Take Gregg, the man whose case went to the Supreme Court. He was hitch-hiking to North Carolina and was picked up by two fellows who were celebrating, having come into a good bit of money. They picked up another hitch-hiker. When they got to the first exit in Gwinnett County, they pulled over for a rest stop.

The victims had two things Gregg wanted, a car and \$400. As they got out and stood by the ditch, Gregg shot each of them once and they fell into a ditch. He then proceeded to shoot them again in the head, took the money, and headed off. You think those killings bothered poor Leon Gregg? No.

Capital punishment—it's the ultimate punishment for the ultimate crime. To say that you shouldn't have the death sentence is like saying you shouldn't put anybody in jail for any crime. I'm sure there are some of you that feel that way. Because if putting people in jail is a deterrent, then the logic is that the death sentence is all that much more of a deterrent.

I want to touch on discrimination. It has nothing to do with capital punishment. No less an authority than the solicitor of the U.S.—and can anyone here call him a racist?—has gone across the country to the U.S. attorney's offices, gathering information on arrests for capital offenses in the last few years. You know what they found? Sixty percent of the people arrested for capital offenses were from minorities. Sixty

percent of the people on death row were from minorities. I don't see how you get racism out of that.

There are those who say that it is just as wrong for the state to execute criminals and murderers as it is to murder. This is not true. In the first place it is the murderer who kills the innocent victim. He's the one who commits murder. The state executes a person who has been found guilty by due process of law. The murderer executes the innocent person while the state executes a guilty person.

Pedro Olivari. The next speaker is Mr. William Kunstler.

William Kunstler. Like Mr. McDonald, I am against the death penalty. The reasons that most people oppose the death penalty are that statistics prove that it has nothing to do with deterrence and that it is retributive. It's the eye-for-an-eye concept of the Mosaic code, which goes back to a period of time when human sensibilities were not what they are—or supposedly are—today.

In sustaining capital punishment, the Powell-Stevens-Stewart plurality of the Supreme Court said capital punishment is a good thing for retribution, because it keeps the rest of our citizens from becoming vigilantes.

The second reason the court's plurality gave was deterrence. To uphold this, they talked of two types of murder—murder for hire and murder in prison by prisoners serving life terms. On that slender reed, they upheld the death penalty.

Would we really run amok if there were no death penalty? Are people running amok in states like Iowa, where there is no death penalty? Have we taken the law into our own hands in the years that there has been no death penalty in the United States? Of course not. It's nonsense.

As far as deterrence goes, do you think that assassins hired by organized crime thought twice before flying in from Detroit or Chicago to carry out a contract because of the death penalty? We had more such assassinations in New York State during the time we had the death penalty than when it was absent.

Do you think that lifers killing prisoners or guards is so widespread that we need a death penalty? The figures for such acts when we had no death penalty were far in excess of the statistics for the brief time since 1972 when the death penalty has been in abeyance. The two examples are errant nonsense, designed to reach a result without logic or reason.

In states without the death penalty, there is no particular increase in capital crime, while states that have the death penalty show no significant decrease.

But I have another reason for opposing the death penalty which I think is more important than many others. Misconduct by prosecutors is at such an enormous level that the execution of a person takes place before truth and justice can catch up.

Just recently documents regarding the execution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were released in New York following a court order in a Freedom of Information Act case.

The papers revealed that the trial judge was in complete partnership with the prosecution before, during, and after the trial. He interfered with the appellate process; he was responsible for obtaining execution faster than it would have otherwise occurred; he worked hand in glove with J. Edgar Hoover on the case; he conducted *ex parte* consultations with the prosecutor on almost every occasion; he committed crimes, obstructed justice, and violated both his oath of office and the judicial code of conduct. It has all come out too late, of course. The executions have taken place.

Recently a case went to the Supreme Court entitled *Miller v. Pace*. It involved a white man in Illinois who was convicted of murder in the first degree for the rape and murder of a young woman. He was sentenced to death.

During this trial, a pair of men's shorts were exhibited to the jury. The prosecution asserted they had been found in the defendant's home and contained blood of the same type as the victim. A chemist so testified.

After the death sentence was imposed and all state appeals had been exhausted, a young attorney entered the picture. He determined that the blood on the underwear was red paint. Both the chemist and the district attorney had

misrepresented the facts, and one had committed outright perjury.

The Supreme Court, in setting aside the death penalty, said that the district attorney had been "more than candid" in admitting that it was indeed red paint and not human blood. Instead of urging that the prosecutor be prosecuted, he was commended. Miller could have died, and the discovery of the red paint could have been made later on, just like the discovery of judicial misconduct in the Rosenberg case.

The rule in virtually every prosecutor's office in this country—I haven't found any that don't deserve this stigma—is to do what is needed to destroy certain people because that is what the dominant society desires. Suppress evidence or invent evidence, but get the conviction.

That is why the death penalty is so insidious. It's easy to talk of the smell of blood, it's all well and good to talk about animals and beasts and the horrors Mr. Huff laid out to you, but that kind of talk is unintelligent. It does not get to the

'If they want to talk about the death penalty, let's talk about other cases where it could be applied. What about generals who order defoliation and napalm bombing? What about manufacturers whose products injure, maim, or cause death? What about prosecutors who invent or suppress evidence? But it is obvious that these people are never going to face the death penalty' —Attorney William Kunstler

heart of the problem. It is nothing but a jury argument. And jury arguments are designed to sway and inflame, so that prosecutors can obtain convictions.

If they want to talk about the death penalty, let's talk about some other cases where it might be applied. What about generals who order defoliation and napalm bombing? What about manufacturers whose products injure, maim, or cause death? What about prosecutors who invent or suppress relevant evidence, like the prosecutor in *Miller v. Pace*?

What about a soldier not so far from here who caused the deaths of over 500 men, women, and children at My Lai 4, and was convicted in 22 of those deaths? What do you do with police officers in Brooklyn who gun down nine-year-old Black kids in the street and never face any criminal charge whatsoever?

If it is to be applied in a nondiscriminatory way, what about all of these people who cause more misery and death than any of the people who Mr. Huff talks about? Are we going to limit it to people who shoot two people while hitchhiking or to people who commit violent acts for bread or to people who are half insane if not completely insane like some of the people who fill the annals of the Supreme Court in these death penalty cases? Are we going to limit it to the poor, the Black, and the Chicano?

If we are going to have it, let's do it across the board. Let's see about Richard Nixon and whether his hands have no blood on them. It's obvious, of course, that these people are never going to be brought up on serious charges or face the death penalty. It simply isn't going to happen.

The people who are going to be executed are the poor, the people of color, the Chicanos, and the *puertorriqueños*, poor whites, and people of that type.

They are going to be executed for a lot of acts that really frighten people. That's what Mr. Huff was doing. That's his argument. You have to smell the blood and go down in the ditch. Of

course it's a horrible thing. Violent death is horrible. It must have been just as horrible to see those 522 men, women, and children in the ditches of My Lai 4.

The fact that death is horrible and the violent death is more horrible than any kind does not mean that we become animals and beasts. There is a difference.

Troy Gregg took human life for gain, probably out of many compulsions that we cannot really know. Mr. Huff doesn't understand Mr. Gregg any more than I do. But when you use the blood and gore and horror to justify capital punishment, you are using a specious argument because the taking of the one life by us is in many ways more horrible than murder for gain and passion.

To understand this, go through this very generous time they give the prisoner to prepare to meet his maker, go through the conditions on death row, go through the shaving of the head for an electrocution, or the dropping of the cyanide pills into sulfuric acid in a gas-chamber execution.

I have seen three executions in my life—by cyanide gas, by hanging, and by electrocution. I agree with Mr. McDonald that seeing that calculated taking of life ruins your sense of being human. That doesn't mean that the deaths caused or acts committed by the victims of capital punishment are justified or nice. Of course they are not. Something else is involved.

We have reached a point where there must be a better way. Whatever form we come up with is going to be better than this calculated taking of life. That doesn't avenge the victim or bring the victim back to life. It does not assuage anything but the feeling of wanting blood for blood. That is hardly the concept that the twentieth century is supposed to engender.

If it all comes down to a life for a life, then I guess we are still back with the rack and the screw—with the cutting off of pickpockets' hands and the garroting of prisoners as is done in some countries. We don't understand our society if we think that by spilling blood on blood we will extinguish all the cruelty, the unfairness, and the inequity of human life in America.

Pedro Olivari. Our next speaker will be Mr. Mel England.

Melvin England. I realize this is a very serious group and that many of you are struggling with the question of capital punishment. I have some good friends who oppose it. Mr. Huff and I feel that it's absolutely necessary in certain limited cases.

Let me give you an existential example that I think will help you to understand what you really think about capital punishment. I live out in Fulton County and have a wife and six children. Let's suppose I wake up in the middle of the night and discover a couple of intruders, weapons in hands, discussing what they are going to do to my family.

What would be the decent and loving thing to do? The law of Georgia says that if it is reasonably necessary I can take their lives. Would the decent, loving thing be to say, "I can't execute these people. They haven't had due process yet. Nobody's executed Calley. Look at Nixon, he's going free. I have love for these intruders and I have to let them go ahead and exercise their freedom and work out their problems." If I do that, I may end up dead, and my family may end up dead or raped.

On the other hand, I do as the laws say I can do in those circumstances and regretfully take their lives so my family can live—not because I hate these people or because I don't wish they had gone to a psychiatrist instead of my house, or because I don't want justice for Nixon.

If you feel that in that situation you could not take life, then you are opposed to capital punishment. But if you think that you could and should take those lives to save those innocent victims, then you are kidding yourself to say that you are opposed to capital punishment.

How much fairer it is that these same individuals have preliminary hearings, grand jury indictments, counsel, cross-examination of witnesses, jury trials, appeals, and so forth, instead of having me be the police investigator, preliminary commitment judge, grand jury, prosecutor, jury, judge of the appellate court, and executioner all in one moment. I think that puts it in realistic perspective.

Let me say a word about my background. I'm a private practitioner of law now and I defend people in criminal cases. I was assistant district attorney in Fulton County for eight years—not the kind that Mr. Kunstler has apparently experienced. I am also a Presbyterian minister and I've worked for chaplains in prisons.

Why is it that the human race has basically insisted that capital punishment is a necessity for an orderly society? Let me give you a couple of concrete examples, cases I've tried where the jury voted for the death penalty.

Let's say you are a fifteen-year-old white girl working in a restaurant. Or you are a Black man who is assistant manager of that restaurant and you have a wife and children. A guy pulls a pistol and says, "Your money or you're dead." The white girl opens the register and gives him the money.

He gets the money and he takes her to the kitchen and molests her sexually and then puts her in the cooler with the Black assistant manager. He can make a clean getaway but he

opens the cooler and shoots the girl in the head and she lives with a loss of peripheral vision, and he shoots the Black man in the head. He dies. It turns out that this white killer is on parole, having been jailed for killing another man.

Take a second item: A teen-age girl is traveling through the country, loving everybody and thinking everybody would love her. She's been drinking a beer with a Black man at a bar, which she's got a perfect right to do, but this white man sees it and doesn't like it.

He invites her to the apartment of a girl friend of his. He and another individual tie her hands and one commits aggravated sodomy and the other rapes her. Then he takes a razor blade, cuts her, mutilates her, and then chokes her to death. Then they stuff her body into a trunk.

His defense counsel said he must be insane. So we had him examined by a psychiatrist. The psychiatrist says he is not insane, he knows right from wrong and is oriented as to time and space. He's just mean. The psychiatrist adds that in his opinion anybody around him will be in

imminent danger in prison or on the street and the older he gets, the worse he'll be.

For the prosecutor, the jury, and the judge, the question is whether you are going to recommend life or impose the death penalty. What other innocent people am I jeopardizing if I recommend a life sentence, which means he can be paroled in seven years?

Now it seems to me that the human race by and large from before the law of Moses to the present Supreme Court and the legislatures of thirty-five states have insisted that you have to have the death penalty available because there are some cases in this real world, this practical world, where we have to draw the line on some individuals who have demonstrated that it would be irresponsible to expose innocent people to them again.

Let me deal with several points our friends on the other side made very articulately and ably. Mr. McDonald stressed the problem of discrimination. It's irrelevant to talk about discrimination in Georgia in 1850, 1860, 1950,

From The 'Militant' 16 Years Ago

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Monday, May 9, 1960

The Murder of Caryl Chessman

The execution of Caryl Chessman May 2 was an act of premeditated, cold-blooded murder by the highest policy-makers of the American ruling class. The world knows that after the state of California submitted Chessman to twelve years of unprecedented agony — eleven years in Death Row, seven "final" decisions for execution and seven postponements — the U.S. State Department in effect ordered an eighth postponement two months ago. The purpose was to gain time to calculate the pros and cons of gassing Chessman to death from the point of view of the influence this might have on the world political situation.

After Chessman was executed, the Sydney Sun in Australia declared: "Hardly anything can equal the cynicism which could reprieve Chessman two months ago for political reasons but allow him to die when those reasons no longer exist." The main point of this observation is correct: the decision to reprieve and the decision to kill were political decisions.

The reasons for this are obvious. The Chessman case became a major world political issue. Specifically it became a focal point of what the monopoly press calls "a wave of anti-Americanism abroad." This was due in part to the fact that Chessman's eloquent pen had carried his story beyond Cell 2455, beyond the usual curtain of silence behind which capitalist society quietly inflicts its punishment on victims of laws made by the rich and powerful against the poor and defenseless.

Chessman's story aroused deep sympathy in every corner of the globe; it aroused grave doubt that he had been given a fair trial and review; it aroused suspicion that the hideous practice of capital punishment was being compounded with a lynch spirit based on the bureaucratic axiom that the state makes no mistakes, or at least must never admit to any; and, it aroused a great revulsion against the brute savagery of capital punishment.

There is truly historic justice in the fact that millions of people have identified their hatred and horror of capital punishment with hatred for the rulers of the United States and horror of its latest deed. It is idle to argue that since capital punishment is after all practiced in many coun-

tries, why pick on the U.S.? To the masses of youth demonstrating against tyrannies that are backed by U.S. dollars and arms, the rulers of the U.S. personify all that is brutal, oppressive, greedy and heartless.

It may also be asked: why single out this one deed? Hasn't American capitalism far more hideous crimes to answer for? By the decision of one arrogant little man the rulers of the United States executed without warning, and with no other purpose than to terrify and cow all of mankind, close to a quarter of a million men, women and children at Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Again, the U.S. rulers intervened in the Korean civil war under the sole authority of two men — first a Democratic, then a Republican president — and massacred over five million Koreans as well as 54,000 G.I.s. And the execution of the Rosenbergs was a clear case of political murder calculated to bring the Korean cold-war frenzy to its highest pitch.

The point is that the execution of Chessman has become the concentrated symbol of all the criminal deeds of the American capitalist rulers. Humanity cried out for justice and mercy for him, and the U.S. rulers gave back a stone of arrogant contempt for the opinion of mankind. In this it was true to its innermost nature. The State Department dangled Chessman with one hand over the pit of oblivion and weighed world opinion with the other. It finally decided that it was enough to wait until Eisenhower had passed a critical area of his Latin American tour — and then drop Chessman into the pit.

No wonder the world is horrified: Press comment in Rio De Janeiro — "The United States justice is against the world;" in Germany — "Inhumanity!"; in Italy — "an atrocious crime;" in Denmark — "a loathsome drama;" in France — "a parody of justice." In Ecuador, high school students cried: "Down with the Yankees! Assassins! Criminals!" In Uruguay they shouted: "Yankee murderers!"

The American ruling class can continue to clamor that Chessman was justly executed; mankind has formed a different verdict, and that verdict we believe will stand.

"When the news that Caryl Chessman had been executed reached the crowd near the prison gate, they stood in shocked silence," wrote Joyce Cowley in the May 23, 1960, issue of the *Militant*. Cowley was among the hundreds who marched all night at the California governor's mansion in Sacramento and in front of San Quentin prison, where Chessman was gassed to death on the morning of May 2.

She wrote: "It is not remarkable that Chessman, an obscure man with a record, became the victim of a routine frame-up by the Los Angeles police. His case is unusual because he found a way to fight back, and this destroyed the legend of equality before the law and justice for all. You can get 'justice' if you have the money to pay for it and the right connections. If you have enough money, you can kill someone and you will not be executed. The death penalty is almost exclusively reserved for the destitute. In fighting for his own life, Chessman became a representative of the destitute, giving them a voice and an identity."

Chessman was convicted in 1948 on charges of robbery, kidnapping, and attempted rape. While in prison, he taught himself law, wrote four books, and won eight stays of execution. His fight against capital punishment sparked an international movement.

The May 16 *Militant* carried a report on the reaction to the execution in Latin America, which gives an idea of the depth of worldwide outrage.

"Protest demonstrations still continued on May 8 in Brazil, where 2,600,000 people had signed petitions that were forwarded to California's Governor Edmund Brown in a vain attempt to save the prisoner-writer's life," reported the *Militant*.

"Labor leaders, clergymen, civic groups, writers and publications are supporting the campaign, initiated by the newspaper *Diario da Noite*, to have the ashes of Chessman buried in Brazil. The campaign began after the management of a cemetery in Glendale, Calif., refused to authorize the burial because of Chessman's agnostic beliefs. . . .

"Students, who have been in the vanguard of the protest movement, published an editorial attacking U.S. justice in the newspaper, *Metropolitano*, official organ of the students' Metropolitan Union. 'We do not believe,' said the editorial, 'that such an absolute, rude and inhuman solution as the death sentence may be an argument for the maintenance of the social order.' . . .

"In Quito, Ecuador, hundreds of University students demonstrated on the main streets, May 3, shouting 'Yankee murderers' and 'Down with Yankee Imperialism.' . . .

"In Mexico, 5,000 inmates of the Mexico City penitentiary observed one minute of silence to protest Chessman's death."

The struggle against the death penalty around the Chessman case was a clear harbinger of the developing worldwide youth radicalization. Later the same month, Joyce Cowley noted the leading role of student youth in her account of the execution-eve protests. Their conviction in the value of Chessman's life, she wrote, "will lead them beyond the gates of San Quentin to confront problems of a society that creates prisoners and executioners."

and 1960. The U.S. Supreme Court completely rejected this argument in the *Furman* decision four years ago.

As long as the human factor exists you can't have perfection, and you can't have a government without the human factor involved. No doubt there has been discrimination in every law that has ever been written, some error in the way it has been implemented. If the error is in the administration of the law, then the thing to do is to correct the administration of it, which the Georgia legislature has tried to do.

Mr. Kunstler says retribution is nonsense. He says that the crime rate continues to soar and that the criminal by and large isn't worried about the death penalty. He makes the point that the death penalty is irrevocable.

On the other hand, you have an irrevocable deterrent also, against the person who has been found guilty beyond all reasonable doubt by a jury. They don't impose the death penalty easily. In the cases I've seen there has never been any question about the fact that the person was guilty.

Are we always going to say, well, we are not 100 percent positive, since there's always a chance we could be wrong? Therefore we are not going to draw the line? Then you've got the problem of making it far more possible that that same individual will be out in society preying on somebody else, terminating the life of an inno-

cent person—an ultimate and irrevocable fact.

What would you do this evening if you were confronted with a burglar threatening your family? I say that the lesser evil has got to be the choice.

Excerpt from the discussion period

William Kunstler. What we've seen here is an argumentative trick. You take something that's not the issue like self-defense and then tie it to capital punishment. I think almost everybody here would utilize self-defense to save themselves or their loved ones, except some religious pacifists. I don't see how that relates to the death penalty.

There are alternatives to capital punishment. There is the use of life incarceration for homicidal maniacs. Mr. England gave us the example of a man that committed horrible acts upon a young woman, and was found sane. He didn't mention that the standard of insanity in such cases goes back to 1803 and has not caught up with modern psychiatry at all. That man was clearly insane, no matter what any court-appointed psychiatrist said. If we had a rational approach to this, there would be ways to keep such a person away from society.

Abolishing the death penalty provides time for evidence to emerge that might prove the person was not guilty. The death penalty cuts off the possibility of proving a convicted person inno-

cent. Had the death penalty been obtained in the Scottsboro case, there would have been nine lives snuffed out in a case where it is now clear that they were not guilty. It would have been too late to do anything about it.

The Supreme Court has said that notwithstanding the Eighth Amendment and the Fourteenth Amendment, life can be taken away under due process of law. But because of the enormous weight of prosecutorial wrongdoing, due process of law doesn't exist. I oppose the death penalty in part because it is usually obtained by criminal conduct on the part of the prosecutor.

A man like Gregg gets a court-appointed lawyer from a legal-aid society. He doesn't have the assets of William Randolph Hearst and others to get proper psychiatrists with impressive backgrounds into court.

We delude ourselves if we think that they get the lawyers and the solicitude that our two opponents have talked about. People in the lower economic groupings do not get that and have never gotten that except on very rare occasions when forces like the civil rights movement come into play. The Joanne Little case was a good example of that.

But the average person never gets that kind of help. It's all a charade, a fake. They are literally lynched.

LETTERS

Women on the Rise in Italy

Editors: Today in Italy* there is an explosion of the problem of women's liberation. All parties (except the reactionary parties), as well as newspapers and television, speak about "the rights of women," "women's emancipation," and so on.

The women's liberation movement in Italy today is a reality, a force that exists and is making its voice heard. Demonstrations take place every day in various cities, demanding legal abortion, but not only this; other objectives are raised, such as jobs, the end of sex discrimination, the establishment of medical centers for women in every neighborhood, controlled by women (*consultori*, in Italian), and many other demands. After the demonstrations on December 6, 1975, and April 3, 1976 [of 50,000 in Rome], and the demonstrations that occur every day in cities across the country (the women of Calabria, Sicilia, and the other southern areas of the country are beginning to struggle), it is impossible to deny the existence of a women's liberation movement in Italy.

In these last few months, and especially after the fall of the government and the announcement of elections [held June 20], the dimensions and political weight of the feminist movement have grown. It is becoming each day a larger reality with which all political forces must settle accounts.

The increasingly frequent demonstrations by women have had an important impact in determining the attitude of the PSI (Italian Socialist party) on the question of abortion. Precisely because of the strong pressure exerted by women, the PSI refused to accept compromises in parliament, coming out for free abortion simply on the request of

the woman. This made it impossible for the government to define a new law on abortion, even though the bloc of the Christian Democrats (DC) and the Movimento Sociale Italiano (the fascists) succeeded by a few votes in passing an amendment to the law that would limit abortion to three cases (rape, incest, or malformation of the fetus).

This vote in parliament provoked numerous and combative demonstrations of women in many cities that denounced the accord of the Christian Democrats with the fascists and the compromise role also played in this by the PCI (Italian Communist party). (The PCI avoided having all its deputies present for the vote; their votes could have blocked passage of the amendment.)

Although the main component of these demonstrations has been young women and students, something new is emerging: the presence of some female workers from small factories, and the presence of workers from the cities of the south who have been involved in the past few years in struggles for housing and against rising prices. The movement, then, is rapidly broadening because of the political framework of the maturing crisis of capitalism in Italy.

In Naples we have seen an important development. As you perhaps have read, an organized movement of the unemployed has arisen. The problem of unemployment is very great, particularly in the south of Italy. Until some time ago, the available jobs were assigned by a patronage system. The Christian Democrats succeeded in controlling the few positions and assigned them to those who had party cards or who at least followed the DC.

But this patronage system of assigning jobs has been put into crisis by the birth of a movement of organized unemployed. The unemployed have organized themselves in lists, which are presented to the employment office of the city, which examines the needs for work, makes lists of unemployed, and assigns jobs on the basis of the above-mentioned patronage system.

The unemployed are asking that work be assigned on the basis of criteria of struggle, and not on the basis of patronage. They ask to control the work of the employment office in assigning jobs. Their objec-

tive is stable and secure work for all, through an economic policy that would include investments in the south, and public works (schools, housing, hospitals, etc.).

In the lists of organized unemployed that were drawn up last year were a total of seventy-six women, who had been signed up by their husbands. These women did not participate in the struggles, did not go to meetings, but remained at



home to take care of the children and to do domestic labor. (In Naples, domestic labor is quite common and is highly exploited. Goods are handmade, not at factories but in the home. In Naples it is above all women who do it. They make gloves, purses, shoes, etc., with salaries of 2,000 to 3,000 lire [about \$2.50 to \$3.50] per day for more than eight hours work, with no medical assistance insurance.)

Of these seventy-six women, very few got work because the employment office used various criteria to discriminate against them: jobs could not be assigned to women over thirty-five years of age (for men the limit is forty-five); married women were eliminated because there was already the salary of the husband.

The women who could not get work because of these arbitrary criteria began to organize them-

selves. They went from house to house to find other unemployed women. They invited them to meetings and decided together to form lists of women only. Their objective was the same as that of the whole movement of organized unemployed: stable and secure work for all. But in addition these women are fighting to end discrimination in hiring, demanding that women be assigned according to a preferential point system with respect to men.

Now there are five lists of organized unemployed in five working-class neighborhoods of Naples: Montecalvario, Vico Cinquesanti, Miano, S. Carlo Arena, and Montesanto.

These women are also discussing other problems, such as child-care centers, health clinics for women, abortion, and so forth. At first they met with strong opposition from the male unemployed, often their husbands, who insisted they should stay at home to take care of the children and not occupy themselves with "men's affairs." But soon the sector of organized unemployed that is not controlled by the Communist party began to understand the importance of the women's struggle and the fact that it is a common struggle with theirs. Now there are representatives of unemployed women in the leadership of the movement of organized unemployed, and they are the most combative. For this reason, these women encounter the strongest opposition from the CP and its representatives in the movement (for example, the women proposed to the unemployed movement to reject an accord with the ministry of labor that the CP representatives had proposed).

These struggles have also had an important impact on women students and all other women in the movement. In fact, there is a general politicization of women, and the antimale feminist collectives are becoming increasingly weakened.

A reader
Naples, Italy

This column is open to all viewpoints on subjects of interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer initials instead.

* This letter was received several months ago, but we have been unable to print it before now—ISR.



Carter's tax reform fraud

Continued from page 10

overprotective mother, who can see only good in her darling and is blind to his outrageous conduct. The implication is that Blacks cannot act responsibly.

Is it useful to Blacks to condone their crime and violence? What about a struggle for the rights of all people? For example, why do you empathize with Black oppression and their acts of rage as against the Detroit women the Blacks have raped and gang-raped? Does Black rage justify violence against women?

In spite of the weeks or months of increased Black crime in Detroit, the justice system does not appear to be ruthless. All forty-seven arrested at Cobo Hall were released.

Lois Riley

Hacienda Heights, California

New legalized-spy bill

I have enclosed some materials on what our union members believe to be a very dangerous piece of legislation—"S. 3197—The Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1976." I thought that the *Militant* would be the most likely paper to expose this latest attempt to legalize the harassment and intimidation of dissenting political organizations and individuals through wiretapping, bugging, spying, and threatening us.

The bill seems to enjoy more extensive bipartisan support at this point than did Senate Bill 1 at a parallel state of the process.

My own opinion is that this is one response of the Congress in its efforts to defend the power of the government to spy on groups it's afraid of, especially since the Socialist Workers party lawsuit has been so successful in exposing the illegal spying of the FBI on its domestic political opponents.

What better solution than to legalize such acts and maybe even extend the charter to the CIA, NSA, Military Intelligence, and other federal police agencies?

The California Federation of Teachers unanimously passed the resolution submitted by our local opposing S. 3197. Whether we will be successful in getting the labor movement to oppose S. 3197 now or whether the labor bureaucracies will help to publicize the bill remains to be seen.

I know increasing numbers of rank-and-file members of the American Federation of Teachers and other unions are reading the *Militant* and would pressure their unions to oppose the bill if they hear about it.

I hope the *Militant* will seriously consider giving some coverage to S. 3197 right away. Keep up the good work and keep the heat on!

Paterson Wiman

President, Vallejo Federation of Teachers
Vallejo, California

[Editor's note—An article on this legislation appears on page 28 of this issue.]

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

"Carter Vows Tax Reforms to Put Burden on Rich and Big Business," the headlines blare. Carter wants working-class voters to see him as the 1976 reincarnation of Roosevelt, Truman, and Kennedy. A Democratic victory in November, the story goes, will mean jobs for the unemployed and tax justice at last for the average worker.

Let's skip, for the moment, the fraud of giving Roosevelt, Truman, or Kennedy credit for any gains made by working people. I'll stick to one question: where does Carter stand on tax reform?

Campaigning in Kansas City the other day, Carter pledged, "We will shift the burden of taxes to where the Republicans have always protected—on the rich, the big corporations, and the special interest groups—and you can depend on that if I am elected."

A few weeks back, however, Carter held a private meeting in New York with fifty-two top representatives of "the rich, the big corporations, and the special interest groups."

Speaking to a select group of corporate executives, Carter made a different pledge. He promised that he would not even *propose*, much less implement, "any substantive change in our tax law" until after "at least a full year of very careful analysis." Who will make this analysis? Carter pointedly added that he would "depend very heavily on business leaders to help me in government."

Assessing the Democratic candidate's occasional "populist" rhetoric, the *Wall Street Journal* observed August 12 that Carter had also campaigned for "tax reform" when running for governor of Georgia in 1970. But once in office, "he initiated no tax changes that hurt businesses in the state."

The *Journal* talked with Charles Kirbo, the Atlanta corporate lawyer who is Carter's closest confidant. Kirbo assured the *Journal* that "businessmen will be very happy with Jimmy as president." As for those speeches about taxing profits, Kirbo emphasized, "Jimmy's a businessman himself, and he likes to make money. And once he makes it, he likes to keep it."

Carter's running mate Walter Mondale is supposed

to have impeccable liberal credentials. He often draws the assignment of going to union conventions to fan the air with "New Deal" bombast.

But Mondale also made a little-publicized trek to Wall Street in August. "The record shows," he told a meeting of investment analysts, "that the business community has nothing to fear and a lot to gain from the election of a Democratic president in November."

Mondale said that Democratic tax proposals would "be constructed with concern for continuing the strength of our capital markets." This is Wall Street jargon for using tax breaks to keep profits up, thereby making investments more attractive.

Mondale also said he supports continuation of special tax treatment for capital gains. This is the notorious provision that income from sale of stock, real estate, or other so-called capital assets is taxed at only *one-half the rate* that wages are taxed. This is at least a \$7 billion a year giveaway that goes almost entirely to the richest 1 or 2 percent of the population.

Not surprisingly, Carter sticks to vague generalities about how he would reform the tax setup. But on one point he is quite specific. He publicly opposes the so-called "double taxation" of profits—the fact that corporations pay (some) taxes, and then wealthy stockholders pay (some) taxes on their income from dividends.

Eliminating this "double taxation" is a favorite demand of big business. If enacted, it would cut taxes for the rich by \$12 billion to \$16 billion a year—dwarfing even the capital gains giveaway.

Carter and Mondale's real tax proposals run directly counter to the stated tax reform objectives of the AFL-CIO. That doesn't stop George Meany and the rest of the labor officialdom from covering up and campaigning for these capitalist party phonies.

Carter calls the present tax system "a disgrace to the human race."

True enough. It is organized robbery of the poor by the rich.

About the only bigger disgrace is labor support to the lying, thieving capitalist politicians who created and perpetuate this tax system.

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



Of mice and men

Indications are that the Pied Piper approach may not be going over as easily as the Ford administration expected.

"The white minority regimes are not yet ready to surrender power," the editors of the widely respected *Afro-American* jabbed September 25 at the administration's hopes to line up Blacks behind its southern Africa policy, "and there is no stomach in the U.S. for anything more than rhetoric pressure."

"The U.S. won't give the freedom fighters weapons. This country won't even give them worthwhile financial aid, as was just illustrated when the Senate knocked out of the foreign aid bill \$3.5 million which had been requested for Mozambique."

All summer long Secretary of Shuttie Henry Kissinger was pied piping about, fluting a storybook tune to Blacks about Washington standing on the side of Black freedom in southern Africa. But not all the children were lured.

"He'll have to go beyond words to demonstrate that his current round of negotiations are free of the ulterior motive of preserving minority white rule there," said Urban League chief Vernon Jordan in a recent column published in Black newspapers. . . .

"America's role should not be to save minority white rule in South Africa," he continued. "It should be to convince Vorster he's got to make changes in his doomed apartheid system and that no matter what happens, even if South Africa is invaded, we won't lift a finger. . . .

"The Kissinger visit to South Africa gives the Vorster regime a big boost, and the secretary should demand that, as the price of his visit, South Africa's

rulers release black political and union leaders and journalists now imprisoned."

Potpourri, jamboree, or this is what I see: The September 18 *Afro-American* asked in a headline, "No black views in debates?" The article began, "Will the black perspective be missing from the debates between President Gerald Ford and challenger Jimmy Carter, as well as their running mates? The likelihood of the major candidates never even having to deal candidly with international and domestic issues of particular interest to blacks loomed last week." Yep, just as it has loomed all along. . . . The Justice Department announced recently that it was filing suit against a white Philadelphia couple for trying to prevent a Black couple from buying the house next door. The whites had painted "KKK" on the front of the house and hung a hangman's noose on a side door. The action is the first time the federal government has sued a single family for practicing racial intimidation. Here's raising a shot of Gatorade and hoping it's not the last time. . . . "What happened to me in Camden happened to literally tens of thousands of other people across the country. We know the federal government sent agents into the organization and we know these agents tried to get us to engage in violence." Speaking was Malik Chaka, a former Camden, New Jersey, activist and director of the Black Peoples Unity Movement, who was arrested in June on trumped-up charges stemming from 1970. He is requesting FBI files of its disruption of the Black struggle in Camden during 1970. "The Cointelpro information we requested will be used for my defense and national exposure. We have to get to the bottom of these dirty tricks." Chaka was formerly the Africa correspondent for *African World*.

Chicanos and the capitalist crisis

By José G. Pérez

The struggle against deportations and other racist attacks on Chicanos was the focus of discussion during a separate agenda point at the Socialist Workers party national convention.

The point was a report and discussion on "The Crisis of American Capitalism and the Struggle for Chicano Liberation," a resolution unanimously approved by convention delegates.

The convention, held in Ohio August 8-13, was attended by more than 1,650 people.

The resolution places the Chicano struggle in the context of the ruling-class attack on the rights and living standards of working people.

Olga Rodríguez, a member of the SWP National Committee, reported to the delegates on the resolution.

"Chicanos have been among the first victims of the government's drive to roll back social gains," Rodríguez said.

"A major component of this attack is the virulently racist campaign against *mexicanos* living and working in the United States without immigration visas or work permits—the so-called illegal aliens.

"As the economic crisis deepens and the capitalist rulers roll back the social gains that the American working class and its allies have won over decades of class struggle," Rodríguez said, "the hysteria against these and all 'foreign' workers—including Chicanos—will be whipped up to fever pitch."

Rodríguez pointed to the example of San Antonio. Both daily newspapers there "ran the same series of articles depicting undocumented workers as disease-ridden, job-stealing criminals pouring across the border."

'Alien invasion'

"A local TV station featured three-minute editorial spots every night for several nights on 'The Alien Invasion,'" she added. "The spots were aired with as much drama as if there were an invasion from outer space."

During the discussion, Pedro Vásquez, a member of the party's national committee from San Antonio, played a recorded portion of one of the TV spots.

"This man is a citizen of Mexico who tonight is living in the United States," the announcer began.

"He does not have an immigration visa. He is here illegally. He is a lawbreaker. He is"—long pause for dramatic effect—"an illegal alien."

Vásquez commented, "Immigration cops carry out daily dragnets—roundups of 'suspects' with brown skins.

"At government-funded hospitals and social service agencies no one is attended to unless they first show proof of citizenship.

"This is a racist campaign by the rich to blame *mexicanos* for unemployment," Vásquez said. "After all, someone has to shoulder the blame for the 8.8 percent unemployment rate in San Antonio."

Rodríguez explained that the Immigration and Naturalization Service (*la migra*) is "attempting to silence all opposition to their racist drive."

Activists arrested

"The arrest last month of two leaders of the Chicano movement in San Antonio illustrates this," Rodríguez said, referring to Ignacio "Nacho" Pérez



Militant/Frank Lord

and Mario Cantú. Both were charged with shielding so-called illegals after Cantú refused to let immigration cops enter his restaurant without a warrant.

Cantú was convicted of this "crime" in September and is free pending sentencing. Pérez's case has not yet come to trial.

"The main task before the Chicano movement today," Rodríguez said, "is to mount a counteroffensive to this and other racist assaults on the rights and standard of living of Chicanos."

Vásquez emphasized this during the discussion. "We must ring the alarm on how serious this attack is. We must urge activists to mobilize the strength of the Chicano movement and its allies to get *la migra* off our backs and out of our barrios."

"Unfortunately," Rodríguez noted, "the Chicano movement and its allies have lacked an organized and united response to the government campaign."

She explained that the Los Angeles CASA—now viewed by many activists as the main antideportation organization—has backed away from the struggle against *la migra*.

In the past, CASA has organized large protests against deportations. Recently, however, it has abandoned this mass approach. Instead, leaders of CASA have called on *mexicanos* and Chicanos to not produce their citizenship or immigration papers when *la migra* demands to see them.

Rodríguez said this approach could not mobilize the mass of Chicanos and their allies against deportations. She added that the SWP is eager to work with CASA or any other group in organizing demonstrations around "Raza sí, migra no," and "No deportations."

Rodríguez noted that San Antonio socialists worked with local Chicano groups to organize several protests against the arrests of Cantú and Pérez. "Many other opportunities will arise for our party to help initiate broadly sponsored actions around this question," she said.

Raza Unida under attack

Rodríguez reported that the Raza Unida parties—the small independent Chicano parties that exist in several parts of the South-west—are also coming under increased government attack.

The Crusade for Justice, which has been the main force behind the Colorado party, has been hit over and over again by frame-ups, harassment, and spying.

The New Mexico Raza Unida group has also faced attack, especially in Rio Arriba County. Local Democratic party boss Emilio Naranjo has used his office as sheriff of that county to maintain a personal fiefdom.

The latest escalation is in Crystal City in South Texas—the birthplace of the *partidos*. Texas officials have indicated three former RUP administrators on charges of misconduct and theft and are continuing to "investigate."

In addition, Ramsey Muñiz, the party's candidate for governor of Texas in 1972 and 1974, has been arrested on phony drug charges.

"We see these attacks as one more attempt by the capitalists to isolate, discredit, and destroy the Raza

Unida parties," Rodríguez said.

These parties, she explained, stand as a living example to the Black and labor movements—and to the rest of the Chicano people—of what can be accomplished by breaking from the capitalist two-party system. That's why the Democrats and Republicans are hell-bent on hounding these parties out of existence.

United Farm Workers

"Attempts to destroy the United Farm Workers are yet another example of the government's anti-Chicano campaign," Rodríguez said. Local, state, and federal government officials have used every trick in the book to deny field hands the right to be represented by their own union.

"The UFW has survived up to this point because it uses methods and strategies radically different from those employed by the AFL-CIO union bureaucracy. The UFW has appealed to, and mobilized support from, farm workers, Chicanos, and others seeking social justice."

In California the UFW is in a critical stage in its struggle," Rodríguez said.

She explained that a law providing for union representation elections was enacted there last year. Many of its provisions, however, were antiunion. When the UFW swept the elections despite these provisions, Democratic and Republican state legislators cut off funding for the balloting.

The farm workers have answered this attack by placing Proposition 14 on the November ballot in California. This measure would restore funding for representation elections and prevent the legislature from changing election ground rules.

"The UFW can get the initiative passed only if it relies on its own strength and the strength of its supporters," Rodríguez said. "That is the only way to beat the growers, who have raised a multi-million-dollar war chest to fight Proposition 14."

The report and discussion also touched on many other aspects of the Chicano struggle.

Delegates from San Antonio and from San Jose and San Diego, California discussed angry community mobilizations demanding that killer-cops be brought to justice.

Margaret Mora, of the Crenshaw branch in Los Angeles, reported on the activities of several Chicana feminist organizations. Mora said Chicanas are beginning to become more involved in the struggle for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment and against forced sterilization.

In addition, many at the convention attended two workshops on the Chicano movement. One workshop heard reports from New Mexico Raza Unida party members who were observers at the convention. They discussed the activities of their party and the Chicano student movement in that state.

Ad campaign set for Camejo-Reid

In her report to the Socialist Workers party convention, Olga Rodríguez outlined some of the major goals the party has set for its participation in the Chicano struggle.

One project is to place advertisements signed by Chicano supporters of the SWP presidential ticket in several Chicano publications. The SWP candidates are Peter Camejo, the first Latino ever to run for president, and Willie Mae Reid, a Black woman activist. The SWP's program calls for an end to deportations; full bilingual-bicultural education; no cutbacks; a massive public works program to improve barrio conditions and provide jobs for all; equal rights for women; the right of farm workers to the union of their choice; and an end to government spying, harassment, and frame-ups against movement activists.

Camejo-Reid supporters first began considering the project after the editors of *Caracol* magazine and the New Mexico Raza Unida party endorsed the ticket.

For more information contact: Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.



OLGA RODRIGUEZ

Militant/Walter Lippmann

By Steve Clark

Kathy Newman, thirty, works in a clothing factory in San Antonio. Ninety percent of the workers in the plant are women, a lot of them are Chicanas. Kathy is one of a handful of whites.

Kathy joined the new San Antonio branch of the Socialist Workers party in June, after attending a rally for socialist presidential candidate Peter Camejo. The same month she had an experience that convinced her that her decision was correct.

Cops from the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service staged a raid on the factory where Kathy works. They were searching for "illegal aliens"—Mexican workers without immigration papers.

The cops moved from one chicana to the next demanding to see their citizenship papers. Many women did not have papers with them and were forced to go home on the spot to dig out their documents.

At least three women were deported as a result of the raid. Others narrowly escaped by hiding.

The cops even asked Kathy to produce documents. Evidently her tan made her suspect.

"Black people when they come into this movement mean business," said Rashida Abdul-Ahad. Rashida, twenty-two, just graduated from Lincoln University and is now living in Philadelphia. She recently joined the Socialist Workers party.

"The women in the party have impressed me," Rashida said. "I really dig Willie Mae Reid [the SWP vice-presidential candidate]."

"It's like Willie says: When Black women start really revolting, then the socialist revolution can't be too far off. Because Black women are the most oppressed sector of this society."

Rashida was inspired by the leadership roles of many Black women in the SWP. "I like our aggressiveness. And we should make the most of that aggressiveness, because we are the most oppressed sector. Our anger motivates us to do so much more."

The democracy of the party was another thing that Rashida liked about the SWP. "I have the right to say things, to say my opinion, whether we all agree on it or not. We can sit down and discuss our different view points."

"And people are willing to change," Rashida said. "They're flexible. I like the way the socialist movement allows room for change."

"I'd never want to be in an organization that thought it couldn't be wrong, that doesn't allow room for change."

Mike Kozak, thirty-two, is a New York State employee in Albany. He is a shop steward in his union, the Civil Service Employees Association, and chairperson of his local's political action committee.

After working for Democrat George McGovern in 1972, Mike became disillusioned with both capitalist parties. He began reading the *Militant* and was "very impressed."

Unlike McGovern and the other Democrats, the SWP "offered solutions to problems." So in 1975 Mike joined the Young Socialist Alliance.

Mike joined the SWP right after the convention. Now he is helping to organize the new Albany branch of the SWP.

Twenty-three-year-old Pedro Olivari has been shuttling back and forth between the United States and Puerto Rico all his life.

Who's joining the SWP?

Many of the 1,655 people at the Socialist Workers party convention in August were new to the socialist movement.

Some had joined the SWP just recently. Others joined during the convention, making them the first recruits in the membership drive launched there.

The *Militant* spoke to a number of these people about their backgrounds and their impressions of the SWP.

The interviews were conducted by *Militant* reporters Nancy Cole, Joel Aber, Ginny Hildebrand, Diane Rupp, Clare Fraenzl, Arnold Weissberg, and José G. Pérez.

Now he is a student at Georgia State University in Atlanta.

Pedro joined the Young Socialist Alliance last February after working with YSA members in a struggle against a tuition hike.

During the convention Pedro decided to join the Socialist Workers party as well. "I just can't get over finding so many people working together on so many activities," he said.

"It gave me confidence that this is a party that can get things done—and done right."

Marie Rivera is a thirty-four-year-old Puerto Rican school teacher. Last year she taught at Roberto Clemente Center in New York City, helping students prepare for their high school equivalency exams.

Before joining the Socialist Workers party, Marie looked into the Puerto Rican Socialist party in New York. "I was working with the PSP when the New York State referendum on the Equal Rights Amendment was on the ballot," she recalled. "None of the PSP members ever said a word about it."

That's when Marie decided to look more closely at the SWP.

"The only thing that put me off at first about the SWP was that it was predominantly white," she said. "But I saw a real earnestness on the part of all party members to bring more Third World people into the SWP."

"So I no longer have these qualms. I want to bring more Puerto Ricans and other Latinos into the Socialist Workers party too."

Valerie McFeely, forty-one, found out about the Socialist Workers party from an instructor in a women's studies course she was taking. Valerie graduated from college in 1955, but she went back to school after her divorce.

Valerie is a registered nurse, although she is not working at her profession right now.

She is particularly concerned about the problems of the elderly in this country. "As a nurse," Valerie said, "I've seen what's done to old people, and it's criminal. The situation in most nursing homes is appalling and dreadful."

"In this country, you are discarded at a certain age, especially if you're a woman."

"But the goal of the SWP is to create a society that treats people humanely and provides for their needs. That will certainly include older people."

Valerie was a little worried at first about the impact that her joining the SWP might have on her two teen-age children. She feared that they might be the target of FBI harassment.

"But I've come to the conclusion," she said, "that one of the best things I can do for my kids is to be a socialist. They are going to be affected by every one of the issues the SWP is fighting for today."

"And ultimately the party will help build a better world for them."

Raul César Tamez has been in the Young Socialist Alliance in San Antonio since March 1975. When the new branch of the Socialist Workers party was established there a year later, Raul joined it.

This was Raul's first convention. "The high point was the Chicano resolution. I read the one from 1971, but this one brought the party more up to date."

The San Antonio branch is actively involved in the fight to defend undocumented Mexican workers. It participates with many organizations in the Chicano community to organize protest activities in front of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service and elsewhere in the city.

The convention, Raul said, was a welcome opportunity to discuss these activities with other Chicano socialists around the country.

Susan and Daniel Youngdahl brought all five of their children with them to the convention. They camped in a state park a few miles away.

Susan, thirty-eight, has returned to college. She is studying, among other things, women's history. Daniel, thirty-seven, teaches music at a small college. They live in Chicago.

Daniel comes from a long line of radicals. His grandfather was a member of the Communist party, and his father was a trade-union official during the Minneapolis Teamster organizing drives in the 1930s.

"There were always socialist books in our house," Daniel said, "and I heard about the SWP from my father. Socialism was always

something I wanted to find out more about."

After moving to Chicago from a small rural community, the Youngdahls were able to pursue their interest. "Someone sold us a *Militant*," they said. They read it, liked it, and decided to join.

Joel Edwards entered the U.S. Naval Academy at Annapolis in 1971. Three months before he was to graduate in 1975, Joel was booted out of Annapolis for being gay.

He entered the University of Maryland and became active in the Student Coalition Against Racism. That's where Joel first met the Socialist Workers party.

Joel attended the national SCAR conference in Boston a year ago. "I supported calling in federal troops in Boston to enforce school desegregation there," he said.

"I didn't know what the SWP was at that time," he said, "but people kept accusing it of calling for federal troops too."

Joel agreed with the SWP that this step was needed to protect Boston's Black community from racist attacks. "It took about a month of discussion after that to convince me that socialism would work," he said.

Once convinced, Joel joined the SWP.

"A lot of the reason I'm political is that I'm a woman," said Karen Longstreth.

Karen was married for eight years and has two children—boys aged six and four.

After her divorce, Karen had trouble finding a job—or even getting credit to meet her family's expenses. "I went to an employment agency, but they had nothing. It was a humiliating experience."

Karen wanted to go back to school, but "the university told me that they couldn't give me a loan because my life was in disarray."

Finally Karen did get back into college and graduated just recently. Now, at age thirty, she works as a counselor with "delinquent" thirteen- and fourteen-year-olds and their parents.

After Karen got the job, she began to ask herself why the juvenile justice system wasn't working. Why were so many human needs going unmet?

Karen had never been interested in politics before. But during her

stint back in college she took a course from a Marxist instructor. "It sort of crystalized a lot of things I'd been thinking about," she said.

Last fall Karen went to hear longtime SWP leader and Marxist author George Novack speak at a Seattle socialist forum. Soon she was a member of the SWP.

Karen is glad she joined. "I saw that there was no way I was going to have any real impact on society alone," she said, "that I wouldn't go anywhere unless I participated with other people with common goals."

"I was afraid of losing my individuality if I joined a political group. But it's clear to me that this party is a lot of individuals working together."

"You don't lose that."

Maura Rodríguez also joined the socialist movement while attending the University of Maryland.

Maura, now nineteen, lived in El Salvador until she was ten. When she was thirteen, she began to read about the Cuban revolution and was convinced of socialism.

It wasn't until Maura became involved in a campus cutbacks struggle, however, that she ran into a socialist group she wanted to join—the Young Socialist Alliance.

Not long after that, Maura joined the new Prince Georges County branch of the SWP.

Karen Carter went to all-Black public schools in Washington, D.C., until she was fourteen. Then her family moved to suburban Maryland, where she attended a racially mixed school.

"I was really hit by the difference in the schools," she said. "The all-Black school I had come from had no light. That's what I remember most about it. They must have used 30-watt bulbs. It was very dark."

"But the new school had equipment. It inspired me to learn. I saw how unequal segregated, inner-city schools are."

After graduating from high school, Karen became active in the Student Coalition Against Racism. A little later she joined the Socialist Workers party.

"Coming around a multinational organization was a difficult decision," Karen said. "I was very proud to be Black, and didn't relate to white people."

"But it was the SWP's program that decided it for me. It has the best program for Blacks."

Why not you?

You've been reading about some of the people that are joining the Socialist Workers party. If you like the ideas you find in the *'Militant'*, you should think about joining too.

Fill out the coupon below and mail it today.

☐ I want to join the SWP.
☐ Send me more information.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____

Zip _____

Telephone _____

SWP, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

'Labor unionism, not business unionism'

Sadlowski speaks out on issues in steel

[In announcing his candidacy for president of the United Steelworkers of America on September 13, Ed Sadlowski spelled out some of the crucial themes of his campaign.]

[Sadlowski is director of USWA District 31 in the Chicago-Gary area. Speaking at the headquarters of Local 65 in South Chicago, he was frequently interrupted by applause from the more than 150 steelworkers present.]

[Below are excerpts from Sadlowski's opening statement, followed by some of his remarks in response to reporters' questions.]

Steelworkers have paid and paid dearly for union executives who think like businessmen, act like businessmen, and feel more at home with big businessmen than with workers.

We have had enough of this so-called mature unionism of [USWA] President I.W. Abel and his handpicked successor [Lloyd] McBride. And we have paid enough with our dues, our jobs, our health, and our lives.

Take a look at the record. Over 275,000 of our members—20 percent of all steelworkers—are out of work. Yet our employers prosper.

And where is our union? I'll tell you. Our union's leaders are sitting on productivity committees to help management find more ways to do away with our jobs. They are sitting with corporate executives in plush clubs, sipping martinis and toasting to the companies' continued prosperity.

Just look at what they have given us in the area of workplace health and safety—strong talk and weak contracts.

Many occupational diseases and injuries can be prevented if our union does its job. We need the right to shut down hazardous operations without the loss of pay; to conduct on-site inspections at employer expense; and to have health and safety committees in every local with the resources and the teeth to do an effective job.

I trust the intelligence and good sense of steelworkers. I will respond to their wishes and work to meet their demands. That's why I have fought for over a decade to guarantee each



Ed Sadlowski addresses supporters and reporters at September 13 news conference

member the right to vote on his or her contract.

The old leadership had consistently been opposed to requiring contract ratification. They regard ratification as a nuisance, as an interference with their ability to run the union as they please.

We must put a stop to this kind of unresponsive labor leadership. Above all else, if elected president of the steelworkers I will make union democracy a reality. I will do everything possible not only to give the members a say, but the controlling say in how our union operates.

Working men and women have come a long way since corporate goons and courts of law prevented us from organizing peacefully and bargaining collectively.

But along the way, this union has grown soft at the top. Our leaders assume that the company's interest and the worker's are the same, that the union is part of the corporate team.

Well, I tell you what you already know—we can't afford this *business* unionism any longer. I plan to replace it with traditional *labor* unionism which works tirelessly and effectively to give the union's working members,

as well as those who want to work, the best possible job.

In 1972, when I announced for district director, they said I couldn't win because no one ever successfully challenged the machine. I had only one staffman and a handful of local officers behind me.

But I had the membership, and in an honest election they are what counts. When we got an honest election, I won by two to one.

Now we already have the support of steelworkers by the tens of thousands throughout the United States and Canada, as well as local officers and staff representatives.

We'll work hard to make sure that this election is honest and we'll win and win big again.

* * *

On social change: The working-class American public has a great stake in this election.

We cannot continue to have eight, nine, ten million people unemployed. We cannot continue to have people go to bed hungry. We cannot continue to have people undereducated.

I think the labor movement can be

the most viable instrument for making a reality of a better life for everyone. And I think the steelworkers can be the vanguard of that movement. [Applause]

For example, in the 1960s this country basically had its inner fibers torn out by the situation in Southeast Asia.

I'm firmly convinced that situation wouldn't have existed if George Meany and company had stood up and said, Vietnam is wrong. [Applause]

A Lyndon Johnson or a Richard Nixon would never have crossed that line.

On jobs: They're producing tons of steel at cheaper labor costs than ever before. Fifteen years ago you had 525,000 steelworkers, today you have 357,000 employed.

That says something about what that industry has done, and what this union *hasn't* done to keep abreast.

I think it's long overdue that we start talking about a shorter workweek—not just talking about it, but making it a reality. [Applause]

Being kind of a buff on history, I looked at the policy resolutions that were submitted at the first wage-policy convention of the United Steelworkers in 1937. And it called for a six-hour day.

That platform was laid down in 1937. Abel has had twelve years as president of this organization to do little or nothing about it. And David McDonald before him had twelve years as president to do little or nothing about it.

We need more than just words in this day and age. We need action. [Applause]

On violence: Our supporters are determined to bring about change. They will not be frightened off by threats and thugs, by name-calling and smears, or even by beatings and shootings.

Steelworkers will no longer put up with leadership which tolerates violence, leadership which brags about rigging elections.

We're not going to respond with violence—we're going to respond at the ballot box. [Cheers and applause]

Steel pamphlet sales drive: lessons from '40s

By Karen Melville

Across the country, branches of the Socialist Workers party are now mapping out local efforts for sales of *The Fight for Union Democracy in Steel*.

This pamphlet by Andy Rose describes Ed Sadlowski's challenge to the union bureaucracy. It provides valuable background on the history of the CIO and discusses crucial issues in the fight for militant and democratic unionism.

Over the next few months, SWP branches hope to sell thousands of copies to steelworkers and other union and political activists.

Most members of the SWP today have had little experience with a national pamphlet sales campaign. Such campaigns are not a new activity for the party, though. During the massive labor upsurge that followed World War II, pamphlet sales drives were organized frequently.

In the mid-1940s, SWP branches sold thousands of copies of each of these pamphlets: *American Workers Need a Labor Party* by Joseph Hansen; *Jobs for All* by Art Preis; *A Practical Program to Kill Jim Crow*

by Charles Jackson; and *Build a Labor Party Now!* by George Clarke.

Some of the lessons, ideas, and experiences from the pamphlet campaigns of that period may be useful now when planning sales activities. Here is just a sampling of the reports published in the *Militant* from participants in these earlier campaigns:

"We have had excellent success with pamphlet sales during the sub campaign. Out of 62 subs so far, I have sold at least 30 pamphlets—one out of two. . . .

"I do not take much time from the sub campaign for this. Simply, after I have made a sale—and sometimes when I haven't—I show them the pamphlets and often they buy." (Report from a member of the Cleveland SWP in the May 12, 1945, *Militant*)

"During the last month we covered three CIO meetings with *Militant* distributions and pamphlet sales. At two Steel rallies we sold 50 copies of *Jobs For All* and 40 of *A Practical Program to Kill Jim Crow*." (Buffalo, December 8, 1945)

"The response to *American Workers Need a Labor Party* has been very good. . . . Because of its content and attractiveness this pam-

phlet gives a good opening wedge alongside the *Militant* subs. . . . Please send us another 200 of them." (Los Angeles, January 20, 1945)

"Two of our comrades covered a meeting of steel workers' grievance men and stewards Saturday and in 40 minutes sold \$7.50 worth of the Clarke and Hansen pamphlets [ten cents and fifteen cents each]. The meeting was of a type that will be held in all cities with some frequency in the next period." (Pittsburgh, August 4, 1947)

"Seattle has certainly been having successful literature sales in connection with our election campaigning. . . . On Labor Day, 40 copies of *Build a Labor Party Now* were sold. . . .

"Since these sales at regular union distributions are going so well, we intend to intensify them—combining *Militant* and campaign literature distributions with pamphlet sales at all union meetings." (October 5, 1946)

"We have had a real spurt in the literature sales within the past month. . . . We have had a great deal of success in selling these pamphlets in our door-to-door work for selling subs." (Minneapolis, No-

vember 17, 1945)

The Fight for Union Democracy in Steel will be sold in many of the same places—and in many of the same ways—as pamphlets in these earlier drives. It will reach the new generation of union activists with a program for class-struggle unionism.

All *Militant* readers are encouraged to join in this effort. Use the coupon below to order a bundle of five or more pamphlets at the discount rate of 30 cents each (single copies, 50 cents). Or contact the SWP branch in your area—see the Socialist Directory on page 31.

Send me: 5 copies (\$1.50)
10 copies (\$3.00)
25 copies (\$7.50)
50 copies (\$15.00)

Enclosed is \$_____

Name_____

Address_____

City_____

State_____ Zip_____

Mail order to: Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

Employer offensive prompts strike upturn

By Andy Rose

"Management toughness clearly explains the rise in strike activity across the U.S. to its highest level in two years," *Business Week* magazine acknowledged recently.

The *Wall Street Journal* also knows where the responsibility lies: "Many employers have begun taking a harder line at the bargaining table, and unions are responding with their ultimate weapon."

The employer offensive is encouraged by continuing high unemployment—ten million jobless after a year and a half of profitable economic "recovery." It is backed up by the cops, courts, and capitalist party politicians, as the reports below demonstrate.

The auto strike, the biggest now in progress, is covered on page 7. Meanwhile, 18,000 Teamster members have been forced into a defensive walkout against United Parcel Service.

Some of the harshest attacks have hit public employees, as all levels of government seek to cut social service spending. The two biggest teacher strikes so far this fall—in Seattle and Buffalo—have ended with mixed results.

At the same time, New York City has just extracted another \$15 million in wage and benefit cuts from city employees. Among other things, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees agreed September 24 to a 10 percent wage cut for all new city workers.

San Diego's taxi strike illustrates another trend: the drive to isolate and destroy smaller, weaker unions wherever the employers think it possible.

For now the unions are on the defensive. But many workers are beginning to shed their illusions about the old policy of peaceful labor-management collaboration.

As *Militant* correspondent Ed Powell observes, even in setbacks the workers learn something. The stage is being set for new leaders, new policies, and new victories.

UPS provokes walkout

By Robert Leonard

WASHINGTON—United Parcel Service operations in fifteen Eastern states were halted September 15 by a strike of 18,000 workers, members of the Teamsters union.

Most UPS contracts expired last July, some as long ago as April. Workers had stayed on the job while negotiations were pursued by federal mediators. The company eventually forced the strike by refusing even to present a new contract offer.

A central strike issue is the demand by UPS that it be allowed to fire any employee at any time for any reason. This would effectively eliminate the present grievance procedure and all job security.

UPS is also seeking to phase out full-time inside workers and replace them with part-time workers, mostly students, who are paid \$2 an hour less and receive no health or pension benefits.

The Teamsters would like to limit the number of part-time employees, narrow the gap in wages, and win health and pension benefits for the part-timers.

The union is also seeking for the first time a contract covering the entire East Coast (except New York City and Florida) with an expiration date close to that for the Teamsters central states UPS contract.

This would be a step toward nation-

wide bargaining backed up by the possibility of a nationally effective strike. Now UPS can operate profitably in most of the country while one region is struck.

The Teamsters expect a long fight and are organizing round-the-clock picketing at all struck UPS outlets.

Little has been done, however, to explain the strike issues to the union's own membership, much less the public. Many of the seventy-four Teamster locals involved don't even have representatives on the negotiating committee.

The committee has issued no written statements explaining the present stage of negotiations. Nor have union meetings been called to inform the ranks.

If the strike is to be won, the union needs to launch a campaign to educate the members and mobilize their power through mass picket lines and demonstrations. Such actions can build solidarity and show UPS that the ranks are solidly behind this strike and prepared to fight.

Calif. cab strikers arrested

By Mike McGraw

SAN DIEGO—The latest development in the bitter struggle between the San Diego Yellow Cab Company and the Cab Drivers Union is the arrest of at least four union members and supporters on charges ranging from assault to arson.

The union has been unable to put up the exorbitant bail—\$7,000 to \$17,000 per person.

The arrests are the most serious attack yet on the union, an affiliate of the Seafarers' International Union. By smearing the union with charges of violence, Yellow Cab hopes to isolate the drivers and shift public attention away from the strike issues.

The company is demanding an open shop, watered-down grievance procedures, and lower company payments for health benefits. It refuses to give the drivers any share of a proposed fare increase—the only method of increasing wages in this industry.

Courts have aided the company's union-busting drive by limiting pickets, while the San Diego airport management has tried to prevent the strikers' "courtesy cars" from operating at the airport. [A letter on the "courtesy car" service appears on page 10.]

Victory for Seattle teachers

By Bob Rowand

SEATTLE—A nine-day strike by the Seattle Teachers Association, the first in the union's history, has scored some important victories.

The school board was forced to rehire all 715 teachers and staff laid off last spring and to recall on the basis of seniority.

In addition, dual seniority lists will be maintained in the future to guarantee that the proportion of Black and other minority teachers is not reduced.

The STA also won a 16 percent wage increase. Teachers voted overwhelmingly to approve the settlement at a mass meeting September 20.

School Supt. Dave Moberly proved

unable to open the schools using substitutes and volunteers as scabs. He turned to the courts for an antistrike injunction, but the settlement was reached before the injunction was put to the test.

The school board, Republican Gov. Daniel Evans, and the news media tried to turn public sentiment against the teachers. Evans professed concern for "the 62,000 children, who are the most important issue."

But it is Evans, along with the Democrats and Republicans in the state legislature and the school admin-



Seattle teachers and Black community face common enemy in fight to save education.

istration, who has continually cut back on the quality of education for Seattle students. The teachers were fighting to halt these cuts.

Nevertheless, the governor's attacks set the stage for several hundred students to demonstrate at both the STA and school board offices September 15 demanding an end to the strike.

The Central Area School Council, representing Seattle's predominantly Black Central Area schools, also called for an end to the strike.

The CASC opposed the teachers' demand for a seniority system. Instead the CASC wanted the right to rehire those teachers it feels essential to the education of Black students, regardless of seniority.

Carmen Maymi, Socialist Workers party candidate for state legislature in the Thirty-seventh District, discussed this problem in an interview with the *Militant*.

"Both the Black community and the teachers face the same enemy," Maymi pointed out.

"If the STA had been defeated on the seniority issue, the Black community would still have no guarantee that the teachers and programs needed most would be maintained. Black parents and students have absolutely nothing to gain by opposing the strike."

"The STA should recognize the right of the Black community to make the decisions about education in the predominantly Black schools, including hiring, firing, and recall of teachers."

"The STA's position against discriminatory layoffs is a positive step in this direction."

"STA recognition of the rights of the Black community is the only way that teachers, students, and the Black community can be mobilized in united

action to defend education in Seattle.

"These attacks are sure to continue, and united action will be even more important in the future."

Fines and jail threats in Buffalo

Buffalo's 3,600 teachers returned to work September 27 after the Buffalo Teachers Federation agreed to submit disputed contract issues to binding arbitration.

All past experience indicates that the teachers can expect to gain little if anything from arbitration, especially since the board of education continues to insist it has no funds for salary increases.

The three-week strike ended under heavy pressure of jail sentences for union leaders and massive fines against the BTF. On September 24, BTF President Tom Pisa was sentenced to thirty days in jail and fined \$250. The union was fined \$50,000 plus \$10,000 for each day the strike continued.

All teachers are subject to loss of two days' pay for each day on strike.

The following report was written shortly before the strike ended.

By Ed Powell

BUFFALO—Every strike is an education. Under attack from a distant "they" (city hall), teachers are becoming a "we"—discovering solidarity.

In a television debate September 18, city attorney and Deputy Mayor Leslie Foschio lectured the teachers on respect for law and order. Tom Pisa, president of the Buffalo Teachers Federation, described the strike as an act of civil disobedience—analogueous to other great movements, including the first American revolution, that challenged unjust laws.

School Supt. Eugene Reville said he could not understand how Pisa could "change the law by violating the law . . . and compare it to our founding fathers."

Never heard of the Boston Tea Party? Montgomery bus boycott? Sit-ins? History is not the long suit of the superintendent's office.

On Sunday night, September 19, 2,800 teachers voted overwhelmingly to continue the strike. By Tuesday morning, September 21, injunctions had been mailed to more than 3,000 people—accidentally including a few nonstriking school principals as well as one teacher who had been dead for two years.

By noon on Tuesday, 3,000 pickets were circling city hall.

Although the picket lines have been totally peaceful, rumors of violence are fanned by the press. "32 Incidents of Harassment Reported in Teachers Strike," said the *Buffalo Evening News* September 23.

Frightening indeed! Thirty-two in one day? No, not exactly. Thirty-two in sixteen days, and some of the "incidents" were against strikers, not scabs.

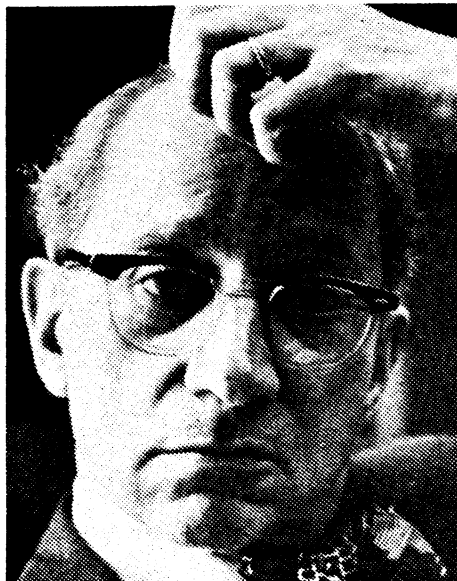
Nevertheless, the police commissioner announced he was ready to call out the National Guard if the strike "got any worse."

Students have been threatened with disciplinary action for talking to the striking teachers. Principals have been warned not to fraternize with teachers.

The board is demanding a wage freeze and a free hand to lay off teachers and increase class size.

No one on the picket lines now doubts that the city authorities are out to crush the union and wreck education if they can get away with it.

Wiretap bill: bipartisan 'reform' would legalize electronic spying



KENNEDY, LEVI, FORD: Warrants for spying with no sign of a crime

By Nancy Cole

Attorney General Edward Levi wrote it. President Ford wholeheartedly supported it. Liberal Democrat Sen. Edward Kennedy enthusiastically sponsored it.

It's the first proposed "reform" to come out of Congress's two-year investigation of government spying. It's a bill governing electronic surveillance.

With all the talk about a new, vigilant Congress with rejuvenated concerns for democratic rights, this law ought to be a good one. Right?

Wrong.

The Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act, S. 3197, is anything but a progressive reform. Defenders of democratic rights—most notably the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU)—are vigorously opposing it.

The *New York Times* felt compelled to state in a June 15 editorial that it "seems to legalize more electronic surveillance than it inhibits."

Nevertheless, two Senate committees okayed it with only one dissenting vote each. And the bill's senatorial guardian Edward Kennedy tried to rush it to a full vote with only one hour of scheduled debate.

It now looks as though Congress won't get around to acting on it this session.

'Curbing' spies

S. 3197 is an example of what the Democrats and Republicans have in mind when they talk about "curbing" this nation's spy agencies.

The bill is designed to appear as a brake on government spying by requiring that federal judges issue warrants for electronic surveillance. This supposedly would put an end to those "warrantless wiretaps" of Watergate fame.

In fact, the bill would for the first time *legalize* electronic spying on Americans engaged in legal political activities. No crime need be alleged.

The proposed law singles out for attack what it terms an "agent of a foreign power." This turns out to be much broader than it sounds.

Foreign political parties as well as foreign governments are considered to be "foreign powers." An "agent" is any individual who, at the "direction of a foreign power, is engaged in clandestine intelligence activities, sabotage, or terrorist activities." Or anyone who "conspires with, or knowingly aids or abets such a person."

The bill doesn't define "clandestine intelligence activities."

"An attempt to define with specificity can only create enormous difficulties," jabbered Levi during Senate hearings.

Levi feels it's justified to use non-criminal activity as a basis for wiretapping because the espionage laws "simply do not make all clandestine intelligence activities undertaken on behalf of a foreign power criminal."

Each wiretap request is first approved by the attorney general. It then goes to one of seven federal judges appointed to hear such requests.

But the spies seeking the warrant don't have to *prove* anything in court. They only have to show "probable cause" that the targeted person may have some connection with someone engaged in "clandestine intelligence activities."

'Sounds familiar'

"If that formula sounds familiar, it ought to," commented the *New York Times*. "The same rationale was used to justify the taps and the bugs involved in the F.B.I.'s effort to destroy Dr. Martin Luther King Jr."

"The Attorney General merely certifies that his purpose is to obtain foreign intelligence information," explains the ACLU. "The court is without authority to inquire what basis, if any, there is for this certification."

There's also a twenty-four-hour loophole: the spies can at any time bug or tap without a warrant, as long as they tell a judge the next day.

But the most astounding provision in this post-Watergate "reform" is what has been politely dubbed a "disclaimer." It asserts the constitutional power of the president to ignore the rest of the law and spy on anyone he wants, if "national security" so requires.

Nixon would have loved it.

The great compromise

If ever there was a bipartisan effort, this so-called reform is it.

It was championed as a great "compromise" when first unveiled in March.

The *New York Times*, which at first supported it, called its evolution a "demonstration of the United States Government operating at its best, with liberal Senators and a conservative President putting politics aside to achieve a purpose of fundamental importance to the American people."

Kennedy hailed it as a "major effort by the Congress, long overdue, to place foreign intelligence electronic surveillance under the rule of law."

Attorney General Levi unwittingly offered a more honest appraisal of the bill's intent. Its restrictions, Levi said, "follow what already is being done, and would have little impact on current surveillance practices."

According to Levi, the bill was needed only to "give assurance to American citizens of the care and standards to be observed" in the use of wiretaps.

'Assurance' wanted

There's no question about it. The American people want some "assurance" about government spying, particularly wiretapping.

The plot to get Martin Luther King, Jr., shocked a lot of people. Robert

Kennedy, then attorney general, authorized wiretaps on King in 1963 on the grounds that the Southern Christian Leadership Conference had been "infiltrated" by members of the Communist party.

There were countless other victims of electronic spying disclosed by the congressional committee investigations. They included Elijah Muhammad of the Nation of Islam, Malcolm X, the Black Panthers, Students for a Democratic Society, Puerto Rican independence groups, antiwar coalitions, and Palestinian support committees.

"Vague terms such as 'subversive activities,' 'national interest,' 'domestic security,' and 'national security' were relied upon to electronically monitor many individuals who engaged in no criminal activity and who, by any objective standard, represented no genuine threat to the security of the United States," the Senate Intelligence Committee reported.

The committee recommended that no American be bugged or wiretapped "except upon a judicial finding of probable criminal activity." And it concluded that the president does not have inherent power to authorize electronic surveillance without a warrant.

Yet the new Senate Intelligence Committee voted August 24—fourteen to one—in favor of S. 3197, the antithesis of its predecessor's recommendations.

Questions for Levi

During consideration of the bill by the Senate Judiciary Committee, Sen. John Tunney gave Levi a list of thirty-six questions on the bill. Levi refused to answer any of them.

Six of the questions were hypothetical situations that might subject anyone involved to wiretapping under S. 3197. They included:

- a major peace demonstration is organized by an ad hoc committee that includes a member of a party "controlled by a foreign political party";
- a Recognize Cuba group visits Cuba and meets with the Cuban United Nations delegation;
- a civil liberties group investigating abuses by the FBI and CIA visits Europe and speaks with radicals there;
- an American helps finance and participates in a Palestinian-American solidarity committee that includes Arab students studying in the United States.

Levi's silence answers the questions.

When Congress concluded its investigation of spying early this year, the lawmakers said it was time to leave the sordid past and get on with the business of reform.

This particular bill may die. But there's no reason to believe that it won't be resurrected in slightly altered form next year.

With the Democratic and Republican politicians—liberals and conservatives alike—so intent on legalizing Watergate, supporters of democratic rights will have to keep an eagle eye on upcoming congressional "reforms."

ACLU: 'FBI wants to continue investigations of dissidents'

[Aryeh Neier, executive director of the American Civil Liberties Union, testified before a subcommittee of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence on July 1, 1976. The following are excerpts from his statement in opposition to the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act.]

The heart of the matter is that the FBI wishes to be free to continue to conduct intelligence investigations aimed at law-abiding citizens whose political activities the Bureau does not like. This bill would accomplish that end. . . .

How is the Bureau to gain the information necessary to determine if an individual is in fact the agent of a foreign power, is engaged in clandestine intelligence activity, or is aiding and abetting such a person

all without regard to whether the activity is illegal?

The only way to do this is to continue the domestic intelligence investigations directed at "dissidents" to determine if their conduct is at the direction of a foreign power, if it is clandestine, or if it is aiding and abetting a person engaged in such activity.

What more justification does the Bureau need to infiltrate the NAACP or the Socialist Workers Party, to conduct surveillance of members of protest groups of every description, to open files on those in contact with foreign governments? . . .

It would be ironic if the first act of this Committee were to be the sanctioning of investigations into the lawful political activities of Americans—the very practice which produced much of the abuse.



Herblock

'You don't make ME feel secure'

Indict 3 in Crystal City

Dems move to destroy Texas Raza Unida

By Harry Ring

CRYSTAL CITY, Tex.—The Democrats who run this state's government are working to destroy La Raza Unida party in this city of its birth.

Texas Attorney General John Hill, a Democrat, has stationed a team of investigators here. With the aid of a cooperative county grand jury and, apparently, a dissident faction within the RUP, he is getting headlines throughout the state about revelations of widescale "corruption."

Three former school officials have been charged with felony and more indictments may come down. Zavala County Judge José Angel Gutiérrez, founding leader of the Crystal City Raza Unida, says he would not be surprised if they indicted him.

The headlines are juicy:
"11 Indictments Hit Three in Crystal"

"Former Crystal Educator Jailed"
"Grand Jury to Expand Raza Probe"

But when you start checking out the facts behind the headlines, as I've been doing here, the substance is slim.

Corruption in government is, of course, a commonplace of political life in this society, and it would be surprising if even an independent Chicano administration were totally free of it.

Undoubtedly the attorney general expected to find a good deal. His investigators have been working out of a rented office here for more than six months. The grand jury was in session for four months and has now been reconvened.

The jury is surely a cooperative one. Eight of the twelve members are Anglo in a majority-Chicano county. Most of the Anglo jurors live in La Pryor, a town north of here, which has been described as the Miami of Zavala County. When Chicanos took over here, some 150 Anglo families moved to La Pryor.

Factional struggle

In addition, the attorney general has been able to exploit a bitter factional struggle within La Raza Unida. Members of the dissident Barrio Club have apparently been cooperative witnesses before the grand jury. Prior to the grand jury session, several of the charges were being made publicly by Barrio Club supporters.

For more than a year, the Barrio Club has waged a power fight against a grouping led by José Angel Gutiérrez. In the municipal elections last April the Barrio Club won control of the school board and city council.

The Gutiérrez faction controls the county administration. As judge, Gutiérrez is the principal county executive.

At the time the city contest began, it seemed like a straight power fight with no significant political issues dividing the contending factions.

In the course of the campaign, the Barrio Club began red-baiting. The fact that Gutiérrez had led a Chicano delegation to Cuba was injected, with a Barrio Club campaign poster raising the specter that the "Gutierristas" were trying to establish a Cuban-style "Communist central committee" in Crystal.

(That was picked up recently by Gov. Dolph Briscoe, who made headlines with a red-baiting tirade about a "Cuba on Texas soil.")

The Barrio Club won the city elections by a narrow margin—which, it was generally agreed, came from Anglos voting in the nonpartisan election.

This was confirmed the following month in the Raza Unida party primary election for county offices. There, with only a minimum of Anglos voting, the Barrio Club was defeated. The Gutiérrez forces now face a close

November contest with the Democrats for control of the county.

This division within La Raza Unida provided the opening for Attorney General Hill, who is seen as having a beady eye on the governor's seat.

Up to now, Governor Briscoe's machine has not been able to cut down La Raza Unida. If Hill could succeed in breaking the *partido*, it would be a big plus for him with racist voters.

Media campaign

In his drive to smear the RUP, Hill has enjoyed the ready cooperation of the state's commercial media.

For example, here's how the San Antonio *Express-News* handled the story when the three indictments were handed down last June:

"Former Crystal City School Superintendent Amancio Cantú was arrested in Dallas Friday. . . . [He] was the second to be arrested. . . . Authorities are still searching for a third man. . . . The *Express-News* learned the man was believed to be in the Lower Rio Grande Valley, but law enforcement officers there said there had been no arrests. . . ."

Sift out the facts on which this report is built and you get an idea of what loaded journalism is.

The three people indicted are Angel Noé Gonzales, Amancio Cantú, and Adan Cantú (no relation to Amancio).

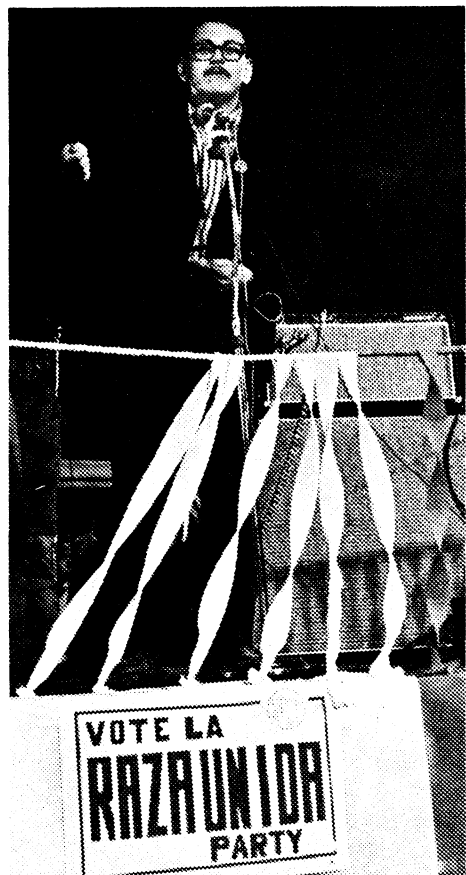
Angel Gonzales was hired as Crystal City school superintendent by the RUP when it took over in 1970. He held that position until 1974 when he accepted a post with the U.S. Office of Education as chief of program operations for bilingual education. He resigned a year later and returned to his home in Harlingen in the Lower Rio Grande Valley.

(Incidentally, contrary to the implication in the *Express-News*, authorities had no problem finding Gonzales. Just a month earlier he had run in a widely reported Democratic party contest against Eligio de la Garza.)

Amancio Cantú was hired as assistant and took over as school superintendent when Gonzales left for Washington.

The third person indicted, Adan Cantú, was employed for fourteen months by the school system. He is now a businessman in Crystal City.

What are they charged with?
The principal accusation, according



Militant/Howard Petrick
JOSE ANGEL GUTIERREZ, founding leader of Raza Unida party. Gutiérrez's RUP slate faces close contest with Democrats in Zavala County.



Militant/Miguel Pendás
ANGEL NOE GONZALES: Former Crystal City school superintendent speaking at 1974 RUP rally. Gonzales says indictments are aimed at Chicano movement.

to a copy of the indictment I read, is that Adan Cantú was hired and paid for work he did not perform.

In addition, Amancio Cantú is charged with having employed two people as Home-School Liason workers but actually having them engage in political activity.

(Interestingly, both are related to Barrio Club people. Neither was indicted for receiving money for work not performed as was Adan Cantú.)

The indictment also charges that when Amancio Cantú joined the delegation to Cuba he took along an audiovisual outfit belonging to the school system. The indictment is obscure as to whether he is charged with depriving the school system of use of the equipment while he had it in Cuba or, as Barrio Club members charge, with giving it to the Cubans.

After reading the indictment, I talked with Angel Noé Gonzales, who has moved back here.

RUP's response

Gonzales declared he is totally innocent. He charged that the indictments are politically inspired and designed to deal a blow to the Chicano movement in general and La Raza Unida in particular.

These are the facts, as he related them to me, concerning the hiring of Amancio Cantú:

When Gonzales became school superintendent he brought Adan Cantú in as school district tax assessor-collector. However, he said, school board members wanted to hire a local person, Richard Díaz. It was agreed, Gonzales said, that Cantú would be retained as a building construction analyst and would also assist Díaz in the tax office.

Gonzales said Cantú was fully qualified for these jobs. He had been tax assessor-collector in the town of Mercedes, where he had also served two terms as mayor. Cantú had also worked in the accounting office of a local college in Austin.

Cantú's work as building construction analyst, Gonzales continued, involved liason with architects and builders handling the \$2.7 million school construction project launched by the Raza Unida administration.

Throughout the entire year Cantú worked under him, Gonzales said, no question of any kind was raised.

Gonzales showed me the minutes of the school board meetings for the entire period. He noted that Cantú had been invited to several meetings where his work was up for discussion.

At the time Gonzales left for Washington, Cantú was in the process of setting up his business ventures. When Amancio Cantú took over as superintendent, Adan Cantú agreed to continue in his post for two more months, working half-time for half pay.

Adan Cantú established a publishing and stationery company and a concrete company. The school district does buy books and supplies from him, Gonzales said. And a San Antonio builder doing work for the district buys cement from him.

But, Gonzales observed, while Cantú's business relations with the school district have been heavily emphasized in the media, there has not been a single assertion of any wrong-doing.

Apparently, Gonzales observed, it's all right for Anglos to sell supplies to the school district—as they traditionally do—but there's something wrong when a Chicano does it.

Gonzales strongly protested the fact that although he and the others were indicted last June, they still have not been arraigned—meaning that they have had no opportunity to enter an official plea of innocent.

The newspapers carry the headlines, he said, but meanwhile they have no chance to defend themselves.

Effects of indictments

He said the indictment has done heavy damage to him professionally. It has been an emotional ordeal for his family.

After the indictment, he said, he had been accepted by the Oakland, California, school district to head up a new city-wide bilingual program. He told them at the time that he had legal problems that would cause him to take time out to return to Texas.

When Gonzales arrived in Oakland, he was told the board had been advised from Washington that he had been indicted and they would have to give the position to someone else. He protested that an indictment did not establish guilt, but this was shrugged aside.

"It's a terrible situation," Gonzales said. "The attorney general is trying to use us as a stepping-stone to the governorship. If he could put a stop to the Chicano movement, to the *partido* in Crystal City, they would see it as heroic. They would like to see us back down on our knees, with the system telling us what to do."

On the basis of the available evidence, what he says makes a lot of sense.

Walter Lively, Black socialist, dies in Balto.

By Helen Meyers

BALTIMORE—Walter Lively, a revolutionary socialist and civil rights leader, died here September 10 of a heart ailment. He was thirty-four.

At the time of his death, Lively was a member of Spark, a socialist group based in Baltimore and Detroit.

At the age of seventeen, Lively—a native of Philadelphia—had joined the Mississippi Freedom Rides. In 1963 he was Philadelphia coordinator of the massive civil rights March on Washington.

After moving to Baltimore, Lively helped organize Union for Jobs or Income Now (UJOIN). In 1967 he ran for Baltimore City Council.

During the Baltimore ghetto rebellion in 1968, Lively was arrested while aiding fire victims and administering first aid. The charges were eventually dropped.

Not long afterwards, Baltimore Mayor Thomas D'Alesandro appointed Lively executive director of the Urban Coalition. Some months later, Lively—along with several other Black activists—resigned from the city administration.

Lively was also a founder of the Baltimore Black History Museum.

On September 12, 200 people attended a memorial service for Lively at the Union Baptist Church. Among those paying tribute to Lively's contributions were Herb Singleton, cochairperson of the Baltimore Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression; the Rev. Vernon Dobson, a longtime Baltimore civil rights leader; one of his co-workers in Spark, U.S. Rep. Parren Mitchell attended the service.

All three network television stations in Baltimore carried tributes to Lively on the Saturday evening news. An obituary article appeared in the Baltimore Sun.

Black columnist Madeline Murphy devoted her column to Lively in the September 14 Baltimore Afro-



WALTER LIVELY

American. "I know that he challenged my thinking, despite our innumerable disagreements," Murphy wrote. "That he had the tinge of brilliance, that forced people to re-think their beliefs, re-examine their biases and reshape their political philosophy."

The same issue of the *Afro-American* quoted State Sen. Clarence Mitchell III as saying, "His was the life of a black revolutionary who sought, at the sacrifice of his own comfort, to bring about permanent change . . . His presence in our community will be sorely missed."

The *Spark* newspaper, wrote in its September 13-27 issue, "Walter knew for many years that he was very sick. But he never allowed this to stop him from fighting for a better life for all of us. . . .

"He had faith in the future. He understood and often said that to fight back was not a choice but a necessity."

here on September 22 to protest congressional action to restrict abortion rights.

Linda Festa, vice-president of San Francisco NOW, told demonstrators that the vote to cut off Medicaid payments for abortions "discriminates against low-income women, putting them back in the hands of below-board doctors and dangerous home remedies to avoid an unwanted pregnancy."

"If the federal bill passes," she said, "it would make the right of free choice a moot issue for poor women. There wouldn't be any doctors available to them when abortion was concerned."

Every television station and daily newspaper and many radio stations covered the event. The protesters' message came through clearly in their chant, "Black, Asian, Raza, white; abortion is our legal right!"

Women from San Francisco, Oakland, and Berkeley came to participate in the picket at the urging of the Committee to Keep Abortion Legal. The San Francisco NOW chapter initiated this group in response to recent attacks on abortion rights by Congress, the Catholic church hierarchy, and the Democratic and Republican presidential candidates. It seeks to unite a broad range of individuals and organizations in actions to defend all women's right to choose.

At the group's second planning meeting, September 26, activists projected a huge protest at the second Ford-Carter presidential debate, to be held October 6 at the Palace of Fine Arts in San Francisco. The picket will begin at 6:00 p.m. For more information call (415) 863-9395.

...abortion

Continued from page 3

Concerns Committee, announced that women were mobilizing around the country in defense of abortion rights.

She underscored the urgency for such mobilizations by pointing to an appropriations bill for the Health, Education and Welfare Department passed by Congress the previous week. The bill includes an amendment barring the use of federal Medicaid funds for abortions. Ford has not yet acted on this bill. If it becomes law, hundreds of thousands of women will be denied access to safe abortions.

After several speakers, demonstrators lined up behind a huge banner proclaiming that abortion is a "Woman's Right to Choose." They marched to the Walnut Street Theater. Other groups already assembled at the theater to protest the debates cheered as the women poured into the picketing area past a few anti-abortion diehards huddled under a banner on the street corner.

Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers party presidential candidate, was speaking through a loudspeaker system to protesters as the women marchers arrived. He hailed the marchers and reiterated his party's support for every woman's right to safe, legal abortions. Camejo and SWP campaign supporters joined the women in an immense picket line that filled the street for an entire city block.

By Tommye Weise

SAN FRANCISCO—One hundred women picketed the federal building

Calendar

BALTIMORE

SOUTH AFRICA: FREEDOM STRUGGLE ON THE RISE. Speakers: Ollie Bivins, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, 7th C.D.; others. Fri., Oct. 8, 8 p.m. 2117 N. Charles St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum Series. For more information call (301) 547-0668.

BOSTON

THE NEED TO DEFEND ABORTION RIGHTS. A panel discussion. Speakers: Carol Henderson Evans, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate; others. Fri., Oct. 8, 8 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave. (Kenmore Sq.). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Boston Socialist Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4620.

BROOKLYN

STRUGGLE IN SOUTH AFRICA. Speakers: Davis M'Gabe, professor at Staten Island Community College; Jeff Baqwa, South African Student Movement; SWP representative. Fri., Oct. 8, 7:30 p.m. Tompkins Park Cultural Center. 670 Lafayette Ave. (Bedford-Nostrand subway stop). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Brooklyn Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 773-0250 or 387-5771.

CINCINNATI

SOUTHERN AFRICA: FREEDOM STRUGGLE ON THE RISE. Speaker: Tom Kincaid, Socialist Campaign Committee. Thurs., Oct. 7, 8 p.m. University of Cincinnati, Tangeman University Center, Room 430. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (513) 321-7445.

DALLAS

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY AND GRAND OPENING OF PATHFINDER BOOKSTORE. Speaker: Willie Mae Reid, SWP vice-

presidential candidate. Wed., Oct. 6, 8 p.m. 2215 Cedar Crest. Ausp: Dallas Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (214) 941-2308.

NEWARK: WEEQUAHIC

GRAND OPENING, WEEQUAHIC MILITANT BOOKSTORE. 20% off books on Malcolm X, Black history and literature, Africa, socialism, women's liberation. Meet Larry Stewart, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, 10th C.D. Refreshments. Sat., Oct. 9, 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. 403 Chancellor Ave. For more information call (201) 923-2284.

OAKLAND

BLACK REVOLT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. Speakers: Robert Chrisman, publisher of *Black Scholar*; Oba T'Shaka, chairperson of Pan African Peoples Organization; representative of Zimbabwe African National Union; Sandy Porter, SWP, former president of Merritt College Black Student Union. Fri., Oct. 8, 8 p.m. 1467 Fruitvale Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 261-1210.

RICHMOND, VA.

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE, WILLIE MAE REID. Tues., Oct. 5, 2 p.m., a talk. Rhoads Hall, Multipurpose Room, Virginia Commonwealth University. Ausp: VCU YSA. 8 p.m., a reception hosted by Bessida White, National Black Feminist Organization; Edward Peebles; Richmond Women's Political Caucus; and Virginia Socialist Workers '76 Campaign. Refreshments. 2230 Floyd Ave. Donation: \$2. For more information call (804) 232-3769.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: ADAMS-MORGAN

CHINA AFTER MAO. Speakers: Rick Higgins, Prince Georges County SWP; Steve Watson, China specialist. Fri., Oct. 8, 8 p.m. 2416 18th St. NW. Donation: \$1. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (202) 797-7706.

...amnesty

Continued from page 9

who received less-than-honorable discharges. Nearly 50 percent of these discharges were given to Blacks and other oppressed nationalities. These veterans are by far the largest group of people in need of amnesty.

They were punished for offenses such as "insubordination," refusing to obey orders, holding "subversive" views, publishing GI newspapers, and spreading antiwar sentiment within the military. More than 90 percent of these discharges were given "administratively"—that is, by a commanding order without even a semblance of due process.

A person with a less-than-honorable discharge is punished literally for life. It is a stigma on their employment records and it denies them all GI benefits such as medical care, home loans, insurance, and education subsidies.

The only remedy to this outrageous practice is an unconditional amnesty for all victims of this system, and its replacement by a single-type discharge for everyone who spends time in the military.

Carter's plan also excludes many other categories of victimized war resisters.

- It excludes the tens of thousands of antiwar protesters arrested during demonstrations, rallies, and marches. Those still in jail should be released and all of them should have their "criminal" records erased.

- It excludes 8,000-40,000 deserters—those who committed an act of resistance once inside the military. It also excludes nearly 9,000 soldiers convicted for other acts of resistance by military courts. Their records should be wiped clean.

- It does not promise to erase the criminal record and restore all civil rights to the 7,500 persons already convicted of draft resistance.

- It apparently doesn't include the hundreds of thousands of young men who simply didn't register for the draft. These nonregistrants are also living either in exile or underground. They face possible five-year prison sentences if apprehended and convicted.

Carter's insistence on a pardon rather than an amnesty is also unacceptable. Those in need of amnesty were guilty of only one "crime": protesting an illegal, immoral, and genocidal war against the Vietnamese

people.

They do not need forgiveness from the likes of Carter—who supported the war until the very last drop of Vietnamese blood. Carter, while governor of Georgia, declared a holiday in honor of Lt. William Calley—the mass murderer of My Lai.

"It's just hard for me to equate what the young people did who went to Sweden and hid," Carter says, "with what the young men did who went to Vietnam thinking it was a bad war—but who still gave their lives for it."

But it was Democratic and Republican politicians like Carter who were responsible for the 56,000 American dead in Vietnam. Those 56,000 would still be alive if Washington had heeded the protests of "the young people who went to Sweden" and other antiwar Americans.

Socialist Workers party presidential candidate Peter Camejo was a leader of the anti-Vietnam War movement. He is campaigning for a *universal and unconditional amnesty*.

Camejo, not Carter, deserves the support of all those who opposed Washington's murderous policies in Vietnam and are determined to see that they are never repeated.

Correction

Due to a typographical error, last week's *Militant* stated there are 4,000 members of the United Steelworkers union in Canada. The correct figure is 184,000.

NEW PAMPHLETS

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Socialist Campaign Rallies

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PETER CAMEJO will be the featured speaker at rallies in:

DETROIT—Monday, October 4, 7:30 p.m., 4210 W. Vernor Hwy.

CLEVELAND—Friday, October 8, 7 p.m., 2300 Payne

WILLIE MAE REID will speak in:

RICHMOND, Va.—Tuesday, October 5, 8 p.m., 2230 Floyd Ave.

DALLAS—Wednesday, October 6, 8 p.m., 2215 Cedar Crest

NEW ORLEANS—Friday, October 8, 7:30 p.m., YMCA, 2222 Dryades St.

Your help is needed to build the SWP campaign and rallies. See the Socialist Directory on page 31 for the campaign headquarters nearest you.

Officers of the Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee: Chairperson, Linda Jenness; treasurer, Arthur Hughes.

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CALIFORNIA: Berkeley: SWP, YSA, Granma Bookstore, 1849 University Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 94703. Tel: (415) 548-0354.

East Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 1237 S. Atlantic Blvd., East Los Angeles, Calif. 90022. Tel: (213) 265-1347.

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San Francisco, Western Addition: SWP, 2762A Pine St., San Francisco, Calif. 94115. Tel: (415) 931-0621.

San Jose: SWP, YSA, 123 S. 3rd St., Suite 220, San Jose, Calif. 95113. Tel: (408) 295-8342.

East San Jose: SWP, 1192 E. Santa Clara, San Jose, Calif. 95116. Tel: (408) 295-2618.

Santa Barbara: YSA, P.O. Box 14606, UCSB, Santa Barbara, Calif. 93107.

Santa Cruz: YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, Redwood Bldg., UCSB, Santa Cruz, Calif. 95064.

COLORADO: Boulder: YSA, Room 175, University Memorial Center, University of Colorado, Boulder, Colo. 80302. Tel: (303) 492-7679.

Denver: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 1379-81 Kalamath, Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: (303) 623-2825.

Fort Collins: YSA, Student Center Cave, Colorado State University, Ft. Collins, Colo. 80521.

FLORIDA: Miami: YSA, box 431096, South Miami, Fla. 33143.

Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Suzanne Welch, 765 El Rancho St., Tallahassee, Fla. 32304. Tel: (904) 224-9632.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 137 Ashby, P.O. Box 92040, Atlanta, Ga. 30314. Tel: (404) 755-2940.

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Chicago: City-wide SWP, YSA, 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor, Chicago, Ill. 60605. Tel: SWP—(312) 939-0737; YSA—(312) 427-0280.

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Chicago, South Chicago: SWP, Pathfinder Books, 9139 S. Commercial, Room 205, Chicago, Ill. 60617. Tel: (312) 734-7644.

Chicago, South Side: SWP, Pathfinder Books, 1525 E. 53 St., Room 815, Chicago, Ill. 60615. Tel: (312) 643-5520.

Chicago, Uptown-Rogers Park: SWP, Pathfinder Books, 1105 W. Lawrence, Room 312, Chicago, Ill. 60640. Tel: (312) 728-4151.

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Indianapolis: YSA, c/o Student Activity Office, IUPUI, 925 W. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind. 46202. Tel: (317) 631-3441.

Muncie: YSA, Box 387 Student Center, Ball State University, Muncie, Ind. 47306.

KENTUCKY: Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952 University Station, Lexington, Ky. 40506. Tel: (606) 266-0536.

Louisville: SWP, YSA, Box 3593, Louisville, Ky. 40201.

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 3812 Magazine St., New Orleans, La. 70115. Tel: (504) 891-5324.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2117 N. Charles St., Baltimore, Md. 21218. Tel: (301) 547-0668.

College Park: YSA, c/o Student Union, University of Maryland, College Park, Md. 20742. Tel: (301) 454-4758.

Prince Georges County: SWP, P.O. Box 1807, Prince Georges Plaza, Hyattsville, Md. 20788. Tel: (202) 333-0265 or (202) 797-7706.

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Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., Boston, Mass. 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4620.

Boston: City-wide SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., Boston, Mass. 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

Cambridge: SWP, 2 Central Square, Cambridge, Mass. 02139. Tel: (617) 547-4395.

Roxbury: SWP, 1865 Columbus Ave., Roxbury, Mass. 02119. Tel: (617) 445-7799.

Worcester: YSA, Box 229, Greendale Station, Worcester, Mass. 01606.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, Room 4103, Mich. Union, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104. Tel: (313) 663-8766.

Detroit, East Side: SWP, 12920 Mack Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48215. Tel: (313) 824-1160.

Detroit, Southwest: SWP, 19 Clifford, Room 805, Detroit, Mich. 48226. Tel: (313) 961-5675.

Detroit, West Side: SWP, Militant Bookstore, 18415 Wyoming, Detroit, Mich. 48221. Tel: (313) 341-6436.

Detroit: City-wide SWP, YSA, 19 Clifford, Room 805, Detroit, Mich. 48226. Tel: (313) 961-5675.

East Lansing: YSA, First Floor Student Offices, Union Bldg., Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich. 48823. Tel: (517) 353-0660.

Mt. Pleasant: YSA, Box 51 Warriner Hall, Central Mich. Univ., Mt. Pleasant, Mich. 48859.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 15 4th St. SE, Mpls., Minn. 55414. Tel: (612) 332-7781.

St. Paul: SWP, Labor Bookstore, 176 Western Ave., St. Paul, Minn. 55102. Tel: (612) 222-8929.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: YSA, c/o UMKC Student Activities Office, 5100 Rockhill Rd., Kansas City, Mo. 64110.

St. Louis: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 4660 Maryland, Suite 12, St. Louis, Mo. 63108. Tel: (314) 367-2520.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP, YSA, 11-A Central Ave. (Central and Broad Streets), Second Floor, Newark, N.J. 07102. Tel: (201) 624-7434.

NEW YORK: Albany: YSA, c/o Michael Kozak, 395 Ontario St., Albany, N.Y. 12208. Tel: (518) 482-7348.

Binghamton: YSA, c/o Debbie Porder, 184 Corliss Ave., Johnson City, N.Y. 13790. Tel: (607) 729-3812.

Ithaca: YSA, c/o Sara Bloxson, 110 Morris Heights, Ithaca, N.Y. 14850. Tel: (607) 272-7098.

New York, Bronx: SWP, P.O. Box 688, Bronx, N.Y. 10469.

New York, Brooklyn-Williamsburgh: SWP, Militant Bookstore, 57 Graham Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y. 11206. Tel: (212) 387-5771.

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New York, Chelsea: SWP, Militant Bookstore, Libreria Militante, 200 1/2 W. 24th St. (off 7th Ave.), New York, N.Y. 10011. Tel: (212) 989-2731.

New York, Lower East Side: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, Libreria Militante, 221 E. 2nd St. (between Ave. B and Ave. C), New York, N.Y. 10009. Tel: (212) 260-6400.

New York, Queens: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 90-43 149 St. (corner Jamaica Ave.), Jamaica, N.Y. 11435. Tel: (212) 658-7718.

New York, Upper West Side: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 786 Amsterdam, New York, N.Y. 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000.

New York: City-wide SWP, YSA, 853 Broadway, Room 412, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-8214.

OHIO: Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 8986, Hyde Park Station, Cincinnati, Ohio 45208. Tel: (513) 321-7445.

Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 2300 Payne, Cleveland, Ohio 44114. Tel: (216) 861-4166.

Columbus: YSA, Box 3343 Univ. Station (mailing address); 325 Ohio Union, Columbus, Ohio 43210. Tel: (614) 422-6287.

Kent: YSA, c/o Bob Laycock, 936 Carlysle, Apt. 301, Kent, Ohio 44240.

Toledo: SWP, P.O. Box 2325, Toledo, Ohio 43603. Tel: (419) 242-9743.

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PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College, Edinboro, Pa. 16412.

Philadelphia, Germantown: SWP, Militant Bookstore, 5950 Germantown Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 19144. Tel: (215) V14-2874.

Philadelphia, West Philadelphia: SWP, 218 S. 45th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19104. Tel: (215) EV7-2451.

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Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 3400 Fifth Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 15213. Tel: (412) 682-5019.

State College: YSA, c/o William Donovan, 260 Toftrees Ave. #320, State College, Pa. 16801. Tel: (814) 234-6655.

RHODE ISLAND: Kingston: YSA, c/o Box 400, Kingston, R.I. 02881.

TENNESSEE: Knoxville: YSA, P.O. Box 8344 Univ. Station, Knoxville, Tenn. 37916. Tel: (615) 525-0820.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Student Activities, Texas Union South, Austin, Tex. 78712.

Dallas: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 50212, Dallas, Tex. 75250. Tel: (214) 941-2308.

Houston, Northeast: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 2835 Laura Koppe, Houston, Tex. 77093. Tel: (713) 697-5543.

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Salt Lake City: YSA, P.O. Box 461, Salt Lake City, Utah 84110.

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Seattle, North End: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 5623 University Way NE, Seattle, Wash. 98105. Tel: (206) 522-7800.

Seattle: City-wide: SWP, YSA, 5623 University Way NE, Seattle, Wash. 98105. Tel: (206) 522-7800.

WISCONSIN: Eau Claire: YSA, c/o Chip Johnson, 221 1/2 Ninth Ave., Eau Claire, Wis. 54701. Tel: (715) 835-1474.

La Crosse: YSA, c/o UW La Crosse, Cartwright Center, 1725 State St., La Crosse, Wis. 54601.

Madison: YSA, P.O. Box 1442, Madison, Wis. 53701. Tel: (608) 238-6224.

Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 207 E. Michigan Ave., Rm. 25, Milwaukee, Wis. 53202. Tel: SWP—(414) 289-9340; YSA—(414) 289-9380.

THE MILITANT

Anti-Black violence hits Boston schools

By Jon Hillson

BOSTON—The officially manufactured image of peace in the public schools is rapidly coming apart as racist provocations of Black students by whites mount across the city.

Hyde Park High, long a center of white resistance to court-ordered desegregation, exploded into a brawl September 24 involving hundreds of students.

The fighting was triggered by verbal and physical abuse from racist students who blocked the school's entrance as Black students disembarked from school buses.

The white students refused to enter the school and rampaged in bands through the area, stoning Black motorists and pulling Black drivers from their vehicles. One eyewitness to the rioting, a local radio reporter, said the racists threw boulders at Blacks.

The Hyde Park explosion, the fiercest since the school year began September 8, overshadowed a fight-ridden week at South Boston High School.

City and school department officials have termed the school—a principal target of racist efforts to thwart desegregation—a “zoo.”

Black students are outnumbered by

white students nearly two to one. And many of the whites take inspiration from the most combative wing of the antibusing movement. But so far, school attendance at South Boston High has hovered around 800, the most since desegregation began in 1974.

Throughout the week, dozens of Black and white students were suspended or sent home for fighting or participating in demonstrations inside the school.

The Boston media have deliberately downplayed the turmoil as part of a campaign by Mayor Kevin White and school officials to paint a portrait of peace in the school and throughout the system.

Another side of this has been the denial of Black demands for greater protection of Black students in the school.

Members of the Boston Public School Crisis Intervention Teams, a federally funded monitoring operation in troubled schools, have repeatedly been refused access to South Boston High School.

On September 21, a request for placing federal marshals in the high school was rejected. The request was

made by the Freedom House Coalition of Roxbury, a major force in the prodesegregation movement.

On September 23, Federal District Judge W. Arthur Garrity blasted the Boston School Department for increasing student assignments to the high school. He noted that such assignments could lead to overcrowding and tension.

Garrity barred any increase in student enrollment at the school. He also refused to set a timetable for his withdrawal from the day-to-day overseeing of school affairs, a sign that the court order has yet to be implemented and that the antibusing Boston School Committee remains unwilling to enforce desegregation.

On September 22, School Supt. Marion Fahey recommended more than \$15 million in cutbacks in the school department budget. These include the elimination of bus monitors, a \$1.3 million cutback in student health services, and the cutting of some \$4 million for temporary and substitute teachers and teacher support personnel.

Fahey's proposed cuts are part of the mayor's campaign to blame desegregation for a recent property tax increase proposal.

Despite the upsurge in racist violence, the impact of the cutbacks, and Mayor White's financial campaign against desegregation, school attendance continues to increase.

At the same time, new signs of the growing unpopularity of the antibusing cause continue to emerge. A poll released September 24 by the editorially antibusing *Boston Herald American* on “leadership popularity” in Massachusetts noted widespread and increasing disfavor with Boston City Council President Louise Day Hicks, long a foe of desegregation.

Hicks was viewed “favorably” by 38 percent of Boston residents, 34 percent of suburbanites, and 33 percent statewide. On the other hand Black Republican Sen. Edward Brooke was viewed as the most popular leader statewide.

The size of sentiment against Hicks reflects large white, as well as Black, opposition to her. Boston is nearly 75

percent white; Massachusetts is about 96 percent white.

Still, resistance to busing poses a visible danger, as demonstrated by the blow-outs and fighting of the past week.

Antiracist conference

If you support the right of Boston's Black community to a desegregated education, you and your organization should endorse and come to the third National Student Conference Against Racism, Boston University, November 19-21.

The conference is open to everyone who supports equal rights for Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, and Native Americans.

There will be a discussion of the busing fight in Boston, the U.S. role in southern Africa, and the cases of Gary Tyler, the Wilmington Ten, and other victims of racist frame-ups.

- ☐ I would like more information on the conference.
- ☐ I (my organization) endorse the conference.
- ☐ I would like to contribute \$_____ for the building of the conference.
- ☐ I would like to be a resource person for a conference workshop.
- ☐ I want to start an NSCAR chapter at my school.
- ☐ I would like to set up a speaking engagement for an NSCAR speaker.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____

Zip _____ Phone _____

School/Organization _____

Clip and mail to:
National Student Coalition Against Racism, 612 Blue Hill Ave., Dorchester, Mass. 02121, (617) 288-6200.



Militant/Jon Hillson

Scene outside Hyde Park last winter. Recently, school has been scene of racist-provoked fights between Black and white students.

Defend the NAACP

By Greg Nelson

PORT GIBSON, Miss.—There's a big new Piggly Wiggly supermarket here, but it's nearly devoid of shoppers. Across the street is the reason why. There stand two Black women with placards reading, “You're not just suing the NAACP, you're suing all Blacks.”

The owner of that Piggly Wiggly is a major plaintiff in a \$1.2 million court decision against the NAACP that was handed down August 19.

This decision has forced the civil rights group, in accordance with Mississippi law, to raise \$1.6 million by October 5 to post an appeal bond. Otherwise the plaintiffs can start collecting damages in the form of property and assets from the NAACP or any of the 132 persons named in the suit.

These damages were incurred according to Judge George Haynes, as a

result of a 1966-67 boycott of twelve white-run businesses in this majority-Black community.

Black protesters, like the two outside the new Piggly Wiggly, are stationed near all of the white businesses named in the suit. When asked by the *Militant* how the protest was proceeding, Rev. Eddie Walls, local NAACP organizer, just held up his fist in front of a broad grin and said, “Tight.”

The effect can also be gauged by the reaction of the white businesses who, after the boycott began, rushed back to Judge Haynes and got him to issue a court order against the picketing—which has been ignored.

Mississippi NAACP leader Rev. E. Doss said that the protest has been so successful that it has split the ranks of the racists. “Half of them want to drop the suit altogether, but the other half are holding out,” he said.

At a recent protest meeting at the First Baptist Church of Port Gibson, sixty Blacks, including sixteen students from nearby Alcorn State University, met to raise money for the emergency fund appeal. More than \$5,000 was raised that evening.

The largest donation has been a pledge of \$100,000 from boxing champ Muhammad Ali.

Funds for the appeal should be sent to: NAACP, 1790 Broadway, New York, New York 10019.

Sept. 27—The NAACP announced today that despite sizable pledges and contributions, less than half of the \$1.6 million needed to post bond has been raised.

The civil rights group has raised a total of \$750,000, including pledges, which must be converted to cash to meet the October 5 deadline.